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AN AGENT IN ANGLO - FRENCH RELATIONSHIPS :
.....

PIERRE DES MAIZEAUX ,
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1673 - 1743.
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INTRODUCTION.

I.

PIERRE DES MAIZEAUX is so far from being one of the world's great writers that an introduction to an account of his life and work must inevitably deal first with the question of who he is and why he is worth attention. He wrote scarcely anything original and is known only to the columns of biographical dictionaries - the last refuge of mediocrity - for the sake of a few rather dull biographies and some editorial work. Although he spent his life in the bungles service of literature, both French and English, he may be thought fortunate if his name occurs in a modest footnote in any standard history of literature. It does so once, for example, in that of Lanson, and from every point of view, that is a most appropriate resting-place for his name, for he was himself a great man for footnotes.

This general question why Des Maizeaux ? is perhaps best answered by tracing the development of the present writer's own interest in him. It is bound up with the topic of the early stages of the English influence in eighteenth-century French literature, a well-trampled field of enquiry which has long been a favourite hunting-ground of literary historians, especially since a few cracks began to appear

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in that particular façade of the Voltaire tradition. Nobody is heretical enough to cavil at the overriding importance of Voltaire as the great intermediary, especially with regard to the purely literary side of the English influence, yet even in that Voltaire is not the starting-point. Granet, writing in the late 1730's, puts the position clearly enough :

"Il y a environ trente ans que nous avons commencé à admirer fortement les ouvrages d'esprit que l'Angleterre produit. Bien qu'avant cette époque, il y en ait plusieurs dignes d'estime, cependant cette admiration n'a éclaté que depuis l'impression du Spectateur traduit en François. Le séjour que M. de (Voltaire) a fait à Londres a encore contribué à augmenter cette admiration. Panegyriste des Anglois, il nous a séduit."

In this contemporary estimate, Voltaire is hailed as the founder of the cult, but not as the pioneer of the general influence. No one man can be singled out as the pioneer; the spadework of the English influence was performed by many humble labourers. Yet there is an earlier figure of real stature who provides one approach to the movement in its embryonic stage. This is St. Evremond, whose exile in England covered the last forty years of the seventeenth century. Here, surely, must be certain roots of this new influence in France ? There are beginnings, certainly, and in his book on St. Evremond in England, W. M. Daniels has made the most of them. But St. Evremond is a disappointment; his writings contain the germ of a critical interest in English literature, especially of the theatre, but there is

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nothing amounting to positive publicizing of the English literary scene. Tradition has it that he never even trouble to learn the language through all the years of his exile, and while some scepticism is permissible with regard to this belief, the impression remains that, in short, St. Evremond was too much of a seventeenth century gentleman, imbued with all the aloof dilettantism of his class, to have made the most of a great opportunity. His case confirms the view that the real spadework must not be sought in the activities of outstanding literary personalities. Still, St. Evremond cannot be overlooked, by any means; he symbolizes what may be called the personality approach to the question, and he is especially important as a central figure around whom his compatriots in England tended to cluster.

The other main approach is based on an event, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the subsequent mass-exodus of the protestant refugees to Holland, Switzerland, Germany and England. Among their ranks is to be found the leading liberal element of the nation, symbolized by the dominating genius of Bayle, with a surrounding body of lesser men such as Le Clerc or Basnage. One of the outstanding legacies of these men is the great tradition of liberal journalism developing from Bayle's Nouvelles de la République des Lettres and its imitators, the Histoire des

Ouvrages des Savants, the Bibliothèque Choisie, and the rest. Thus it happens that the arrival of a multitude of Frenchmen in England is accompanied by the creation of an instrument for expressing their reactions to the English scene, and principally to the liberal outlook which lies at the root of le philosophisme anglais, and which is, of course, already a strong influence upon the mondain St. Evremond. It is not difficult to see that this is where the pioneer work of publicizing England must be sought, and a factual analysis of the three journals mentioned above, such as Dr. Reesink has in fact carried out, produces ample evidence to support the contention that the discovery of England by Frenchmen is the work of the seventeenth and not the eighteenth century.

But this is not the whole story; these journalist-critics function for the most part in the cosmopolitan publishing-centres of Holland. They do not belong to the English division of the refugees, and are not, therefore, the final link in the chain. Separate consideration must thus be given to literary men among the refugees, domiciled permanently or semi-permanently in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in whom there may be a link with St. Evremond and his group. Among these men are such figures as the journalists J. C. De La Crose and Michel De La Roche, Metheux of Rabelais fame, and Coste, the translator of Locke. There is not very much common ground between them

and the St. Evremond circle, but at the very end of the seventeenth century, another person of similar background enters the scene, and attaches himself to St. Evremond. This is the young Pierre Des Maizeaux, fresh from a brief stay among the refugees of Holland, and on his way to seek fortune in England. He is an insignificant figure, but gradually he begins to be known in the literary world, and especially in journalistic circles. And his name has a trick of appearing in connection with liberal thinkers, both Englishmen and exiles. He is a disciple of Bayle and editor of St. Evremond, and, as Gustave Cohen puts it, "intermédiaire officieux entre le premier des Encyclopédistes et leur précurseur mondain, futur biographe de l'un et de l'autre," he is connected with famous names of English deism, he publishes some of Locke - and he writes for the French periodicals, to the extent of being recognized by Dr. Reesink as "le type accompli du fournisseur de nouvelles littéraires de la fin du 17^e et du commencement du 18^e siècle". Most important of all, he is a man on the spot, living permanently in England during the vital quarter-century between St. Evremond and the visit of the young Voltaire. That, of course, is no distinction; there are thousands of exiles in England at this period, including a number of literary men, and it may be asked why Des Maizeaux should be singled out for special attention, rather than La Crose or La Roche or even Coste, who also provides a personal link with the deists and with Locke.

One reason is that the refugee journalists in England are in general more important for what they bring to England than for what they give out to their compatriots. Le Crose, after collaborating for a short period with Basnage, becomes an English journalist. Matheux is an English journalist, so is Boyer and so is La Roche, apart from the first few volumes of the Bibliothèque Angloise. Coste is not a journalist, but a translator, and his contribution to the English influence, though indeed a far-reaching one, can really be summed up in one word - Locke. He does not give any personal impression of England, and the journalists do not offer much more to the French reader. The critical appreciation of English literature is, if anything, more developed in the French journalists of Holland than in those of England, and La Roche, for example, is certainly not superior to Le Clerc or Basnage or Van Effen. The French journalists in England are in fact little more than abstract writers. From all this Des Maizeaux stands somewhat apart; he is an editor, a biographer, a reporter and a literary agent; he dislikes both translating and abstract-writing, - but he gets things done. He writes the obscurest things in the obscurest journals, the little, unobtrusive paragraphs of literary news. But he has often something personal to say, and he is doing it all the time, year in and year out, in French journals both in Holland and France itself. That is his journalistic speciality, but he is more than a specialist; he seems to have a hand in all

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the every^{day} literary transactions between England and the continent; he knows everybody, and everything that is going on in the literary world.

There is another and simpler reason for selecting Des Maizeaux. He had left enough material to make it possible to give a reasonably accurate and detailed account of him, whereas relatively little information is available concerning figures such as La Roche. To some extent, the story of Des Maizeaux is that of a typical refugee man-of-letters, and for this reason he must be considered sometimes as the representative of a group. Yet he is more than a mere type; he has a claim to be regarded as a genuine literary personality, not, perhaps, altogether an attractive one, but a figure who is something of an institution in his day, and who cannot be ignored since he is undoubtedly a man of some importance in Anglo-French literary circles. He has patience and curiosity, and he is placed just where his mediocre abilities can serve the most useful purpose. Above all, he accepts England, and all those aspects of the English background which become so vitally important later in the century - the ideas of Locke and Newton, and even, unlike many of the exiles, English freethought. In short, he accepts everything that impresses Voltaire, and for years before the latter's time is working to make it known to the French reading public. However mediocre his own works, such a man is entitled to some consideration. He has in fact not been entirely overlooked.

II.

Existing accounts of Des Maizeaux are not numerous, and all are superficial. They are mostly to be found in biographical dictionaries, such as the 1759 Moréri, or Chalmers' edition of the Biographical Dictionary, and of these accounts the succinct summary by Sir Leslie Stephen in the Dictionary of National Biography is certainly the best. He has also, naturally, received due notice in encyclopaedic works written from the specifically protestant angle, such as the Haag brothers' La France Protestante, and D.C.A. Agnew's Protestant Exiles from France, and his name recurs fairly frequently in the Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français. The chief contribution of this journal to the study of Des Maizeaux is a series of articles published by Gustave Masson in 1866, 1870 and 1871 under the general heading of Des Maizeaux et ses Correspondents. As the title suggests, Masson's interest is in the correspondence rather than in the man, and his articles consist of selection of letters written to Des Maizeaux, with an appropriate commentary. Although he seems to have contemplated a longer series, it actually ended after dealing with Barbeyrae, Bernard and the Basnage brothers, and is concerned with them almost as much as with Des Maizeaux himself. Des Maizeaux also has his page or two in a protestant work of a more general nature, Sayous' Le 18e siècle à l'Etranger.

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Among English writers, he has claimed the attention of two men seeking suitable fodder for those who enjoy the anecdotes and bric-a-brac of literary history. Nichols, in his Literary Anecdotes and Literary Illustrations, published a few letters connected with him, chiefly in relation to Birch and Warburton, and Isaac D'Israeli swooped gleefully upon the unhappy affair of Des Maizeaux and the Collins manuscripts for his Curiosities of Literature, (although Calamities of Authors might be thought a more suitable place). In any case, that episode gave D'Israeli a welcome opportunity for the exercise of his superiority complex, which he did not neglect.

Apart from his intrinsic interest, Des Maizeaux is an indispensable secondary source for the study of greater men, and his papers have been drawn on for accounts of St. Evremond, by W. M. Daniels, and of Prévost, by Harrisson and his successors. A short section of Dr. Courtine's book Bayle's Relations with England and the English is devoted to Des Maizeaux, and he is apparently the only person to have paid any attention to the few Des Maizeaux letters in the Shaftesbury papers. He has also been accepted vaguely as part of the background of the Lettres Philosophiques, notably by Lanson, who, however, has not committed himself to any positive statement on the subject. He has thus offered subject-matter for various oddments in literary studies, without being taken seriously for his own sake.

The best general account of Des Maizeaux qua Des Maizeaux is a ten-page article published in the Revue Germanique of 1908 by W. M. Daniels, who rediscovered him, as it were, while working on St. Evremond. This article may be said to summarize all the previous work on Des Maizeaux, and must be regarded as the final word as far as short accounts are concerned. In fact, it poses the question of whether there is anything more to be said on the subject.

The obvious characteristic of the previous work on Des Maizeaux is that it is all the same in essentials, for the simple reason that it is all based on the same sources. It is also largely biographical, dealing with the broad lines of his life rather than with his work, and there is a reason for this also which will be apparent when the sources are examined. What the previous accounts inevitably fail to do is to present Des Maizeaux in the round, as a real person, since this cannot be done without going into the details of his life. In reading the available published material, and particularly the article by Daniels, one has a curious impression that it is a précis of a full biographical account, although such a thing has never existed. This impression is also explained by the sources.

Besides giving little detail of his career, the articles on Des Maizeaux virtually ignore the most constant element in his work - his literary reporting. It is well known that

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he did it, but nobody has undertaken a systematic examination of it to see whether it is of interest as regards either the content or the attendant circumstances. This is not surprising, for it is a somewhat formidable undertaking, but it is the key to Des Maizeaux's rôle as intermediary, and must be done before a complete picture of him can be obtained. The other principal line of enquiry which has been neglected is his connection with the English deists, particularly Anthony Collins. There is thus a certain amount of scope for further work on Des Maizeaux, the possibilities of which appear more clearly when a brief survey is made of the sources of information. The manuscript sources, at least, require special attention.

III.

The principal source for this study, as for all previous work on Des Maizeaux, is the collection of his correspondence in nine volumes, preserved among the Birch manuscripts in the British Museum. (Add. MSS. 4281 - 4289.) There is no mystery about it; its existence is well known and it has been utilized, as already mentioned, in connection with other writers. This collection consists of approximately 1350 letters written to Des Maizeaux, including a few unidentifiable fragments. This correspondence number about 220, and represent all sorts and conditions of writers, journalists, publishers and private individuals, including

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his parents. Among the names in this highly representative selection are those of Addison, Shaftesbury, Macclesfield, Warburton, Hume, Leibniz, Bayle, Collins, Marais, Le Clerc, Basnage and so down the scale. These letters fill eight volumes; the ninth contains a useful assortment of personal documents left by Des Maizeaux, with drafts and copies of his own letters, and notes, and bringing the total number of items to more than 1 500, with a quantity of scraps and jottings which defy any attempt at exhaustive cataloguing. This last volume (Add. Ms. 4289) is the key to the standardised account of Des Maizeaux which persists in the printed sources, for the papers in it are arranged in chronological order as far as is practicable. As they stand, however, the eight volumes preceding it present a difficulty, since the correspondence is bound up not according to a general chronological order, but in the alphabetical order of the writers, and only then in chronological order for each correspondent. Even then many letters are out of place, or inadequately dated so that the correspondence as a whole is difficult to handle. It is impossible even to begin a full biographical account without first transcribing and reassembling the bulk of the contents. This purely material problem undoubtedly explains partly why no previous enquirer has ventured beyond a superficial account, for which enough information can be gleaned rapidly from the last volume, and with the help of the index of correspondents. The following of this unsatisfactory method

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has, in fact, led to misconceptions and inaccurate statements by both Masson and Sayous, and, for example, by Lucy Aikin, who in her Life of Addison appears to believe that Des Maizeau accompanied him to Ireland. These things are only details, but it is as well to be accurate, and the establishment of a general chronological order has been made the first step toward the present account, although it has not, of course, proved practicable to draft the whole of it on a purely chronological basis.

The greater part of the correspondence consists of odd letters or short series which add little to the knowledge of Des Maizeaux. In some cases the writers cannot be identified, or have no connection with literary matters, and it follows that except for such incidentals as throwing light on Des Maizeaux's movements, a fairly large proportion of his correspondence has finally to be jettisoned. Among the remainder are some long series of letters of no small value. The longest is a set of 294 letters written by De la Motte of Amsterdam, the friend and executor of Coste, and a man of some learning, who worked as a journalist and printers' corrector, in which capacity he was well known to the Dutch publishing industry. Many of these letters are of little value, except in relation to Des Maizeaux's publications, but it is particularly unfortunate that most of Des Maizeaux's replies have perished. The second series in length is that

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of letters from the publisher Henri Du Sauzet, 108 in all, many of them of value. There are then 66 letters from Anthony Collins, the most interesting of all, and lesser series written by Bignon, Bernard, Barbeyrae, Marais and others, which between them cover much ground. It cannot be said that there is any lack of material, although there is, of course, one obvious disadvantage. Most of the letters are written to and not by Des Maizeaux, and the picture derived from them is ~~not~~^{not} to be a little shadowy at times. This is offset to some extent by the personal papers and drafts or copies of his letters kept by Des Maizeaux, for he was a careful man in that respect; in addition, nearly fifty original letters have been culled from other sources. It is thus possible to piece together his story without too many gaps, although there is no doubt that a proportion, possibly large, of his correspondence is missing altogether, and that he was involved in many transactions in England which were in all probability never committed to paper. As for his own correspondence abroad, lamentation over its disappearance is tempered by the realization that much of its contents does actually exist in print, hidden away as nouvelles littéraires in a succession of journals. All that is missing is the private contents, probably written with his news for printing, and cast aside when the printers had finished with his reports. It is unfortunate, but the deficiency can be partly made good from letters to him. Generally

speaking, the story of Des Maizeaux is well documented, and the chief necessity is to reduce the wealth of material to order, and decide what to leave aside.

The history of these nine volumes of correspondence and their arrival in the British Museum is simple. In a volume of correspondence of the Earl of Macclesfield is a single letter from Des Maizeaux (Brit. Mus. Stowe MS.750 fol.149) which bears a note ascribed to the second Earl of Hardwicke, to the effect that "Des Maizeaux's Correspondences were bought by my worthy friend Dr. Birch and are now at the Museum." The papers were presumably acquired by Birch from Des Maizeaux's widow, for his own purposes as a literary historian, and he, being a trustee of the Museum, bequeathed them with the rest of his collection to that institution, where they have remained. So much for the principal Des Maizeaux source, which, it is evident, is the only one used by those who have written about him in the past. That, however, is not the end of the story, although it was not with much hope of discovering new material that the researches leading to the present study were begun.

It so happens that Birch's collections are probably the only ones in the British Museum of which no adequate catalogue exists. Later additions have always been efficiently listed, and the Sloane M.S. preceding them have been re-catalogued, but although a start was also made on the Birch

MSS., the enquirer is still dependent upon the defective Ayscough catalogue of 1782, perhaps because the bulk of the Birch collection is of little intrinsic value. This is a fortunate chance in that it has added considerable interest to these researches, and bestowed on them more of the nature of a voyage of discovery than could possibly have been foreseen. After working for some time on the correspondence, a suspicion began to form in the writer's mind that Des Maizeaux must have left other papers besides his letters, which are sorted and catalogued, and that Birch, who had a personal interest in Des Maizeaux's work, must also have been in the market for any other manuscript material that might be available. Accordingly, a systematic examination of the Birch MSS. was made, using the Ayscough catalogue only as a general guide and not as an authority, with somewhat surprising results. It can now be stated that in addition to the nine volumes of Des Maizeaux's correspondence which are officially recorded and have been accepted as the complete legacy of Des Maizeaux, there exists a considerable mass of manuscript material by and concerning him, which is not catalogued as such, but is literally buried amid the confusion of Birch's own papers and is, as it were, masquerading as part of the remains of Birch himself. There is no doubt about this, for Des Maizeaux's handwriting is easily recognizable. Most of this additional material is not of great importance, but it includes many of the MSS. of Des Maizeaux's own publications,

such as part of his original St. Evremont transcriptions, his preface to the Locke collection, fragments of his collection of philosophical pieces, and a quantity of biographical notes on various English writers and distinguished men, destined for one or other of the biographical dictionaries with which he was connected, including editions of Bayle. There are also many odd notes and scraps which are difficult to identify, and his part in at least three publications is established from these sources. The material is so scattered that it cannot be adequately described here, but is listed in a separate appendix. In addition to this, the Birch collection contains other manuscript material which must have been originally in Des Maizeaux's possession, notably copies of Locke's letters to Collins, the papers used for the memoirs of Toland, and his collection of Bayle's letters, both originals and transcriptions, including also more of Des Maizeaux's own MSS. There are short pieces of freethinking literature which one suspects of having been in his possession although proof is impossible, and some MSS. of Calanthe which were certainly in Des Maizeaux's hands.

These findings indicate that Birch did in fact take over all Des Maizeaux's papers, and not merely his correspondence, and that they are still in existence, unrecognized and in hopeless confusion. It is certain that none of the Frenchmen who have written on Des Maizeaux have even suspected the existence of this additional material, and the only Englishmen

who seems to have noticed any of it is Sir Leslie Stephen, who recognized some notes on Thomas Rymer as Des Maizeaux's handiwork. This is not surprising, in view of the vague record in Ayseough's catalogue. For example, fragments of material for an edition of the poems of Bonafons are scattered through a volume listed as "Poetical Fragments"; parts of his preface to his Recueil de pièces sur la philosophie dealing with Newton and Leibniz are to be found in "Dr. Birch's collection for a biography of Sir I. Newton", and miscellaneous notes for his edition of Scaligerana, with other fragments, comprising about thirty folios, are listed by Ayseough under the name of "Dr. Middleton" as simply "an account of some books". The rubric "Miscellaneous Literary Correspondence" conceals scraps of Des Maizeaux's abstracts, nouvelles littéraires and notes, while fragments of his Vie de St. Evremond and other works appear in a volume entered as "Miscellaneous papers and bills belonging to Dr. Birch". It is not the fault of the cataloguer, but of those who sorted and bound Birch's papers; they seem finally, and not without justification, to have bundled everything together in desperation, and in this condition it has remained, as so much waste-paper neatly bound in calf. This explains how an additional source of information on Des Maizeaux's activity has lain in neglect under the very noses, as it were, of those who have worked on him in the past. If collected, this buried material would probably make up another two

volumes on the scale of those containing the correspondence.

The resources of the British Museum do not end with this manuscript material. The correspondence of Sir Hans Sloane contains 23 letters of Des Maizeaux to Sloane and his secretary Scheuchzer, and other original letters exist in the correspondence of Birch and Macclesfield. These collections also contain relevant material in the form of references or general "background" information concerning the literary circles in which Des Maizeaux moved. The same may be said of Birch's diary, and the correspondence of Caspar Wetstein, details of which will be found in the appendix on MS. sources. Finally, it may be noted that the British Museum copy of Marchand's 1714 edition of Bayle's letters is Des Maizeaux's own, containing the annotations on which his 1729 was based. A certain amount of biographical information has been gleaned from the Public Records, and the Shaftesbury papers, also at the Public Record Office, have produced a small quantity of valuable MS. material.

Apart from the above, MS. material has been drawn from three continental sources. The first of these is the Kongelige Bibliotek at Copenhagen, where there are a few letters, including one from Collins, which have in some mysterious manner become detached from the main body of correspondence. The other two are in Paris. The Bibliothèque Nationale offers a small quantity of Des Maizeaux material in the correspondence of Montfaucon and Bouhier,

and the papers of Matthieu Marais, also in the Boubier collection and not all published, are of particular interest. Those of Bignon, in some ways comparable to the Sloane correspondence, provide a quantity of relevant material, particularly in relation to the literary censorship and the background of the Journal des Savants.

The resources of the special Bibliothèque du Protestantisme Français have also been used, notably a volume of correspondence addressed to De La Motte of Amsterdam, which has found its way to Paris. The seriousness of the loss of Des Maizeaux's letters to his friend may be judged from the fact that while almost 300 letters from De La Motte are preserved in the British Museum, no more than six of the answers exist in this small collection. It does, however, throw light on the affairs of both the Bibliothèque Britannique and the Bibliothèque Raisonnée, and there is additional compensation for the loss of most of Des Maizeaux's own letters, in the existence of dozens of letters from other refugees such as Coste and Barbeyrac, which are partly complementary to those in the British Museum papers.

There is thus a formidable mass of manuscript material from which to build up an account of Des Maizeaux's peculiar position as a literary intermediary. It has meant inevitably that a process of strict selection has had to

be carried out, especially concerning trivial transactions of which there are many hints. Nobody can say, for instance, exactly to what extent Des Maizeaux was involved with the booksellers, and to devote too much attention to that aspect would simply lead into a morass of trivialities pertaining to commercial rather than literary matters. The final aim of this account is, then, to show the main lines of Des Maizeaux activities within the framework of his life-story. It is factual rather than critical, although opportunities do present themselves for conjecture on some not uninteresting points.

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N o t e s .

- (1) In the notes the following abbreviations are normally used, chiefly to denote the titles of literary journals to which frequent reference is made.

Bibl. Angl.	-	Bibliothèque Angloise.
Bibl. Brit.	-	Bibliothèque Britannique
Bibl. Rais.	-	Bibliothèque Raisonnée des Ouvrages des Savants de l'Europe.
Bulletin	-	Bulletin historique et Littéraire de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français.
Hist. Crit.	-	Histoire Critique de la République des Lettres.
Hist.Ouv.Sav.	-	Histoire des Ouvrages des Savants.
J. des S.	-	Journal des Savants.
J - L	-	Journal Littéraire de La Haye.
N - L	-	Nouvelles Littéraires.
N. R.L.	-	Nouvelles de la République des Lettres.
Trévoux	-	Mémoires de Trévoux.

- (2) The large number of references to MSS. sources have been simplified as much as possible. Since most of them are to papers in the 9 volumes of correspondence (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 4281-4289) it has been thought sufficient to reduce them to the formula "MS. 4284/113" etc., the second number being that of the page or folio. All references to MSS.

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other than these 9 volumes, whether in the British Museum or elsewhere, give a full indication of the place and name of the collection, e. g. "Brit. Mus. Sloane MSS. 4053/165".

- (3) In the notes Des Maizeaux's name is reduced to the initials "DM".

Chapter I

THE YOUNG EXILE.

Although it is above all with Des Maizeaux's career as a writer and publicist during his long residence in England that this study will be concerned, it must be remembered that he was already about 27 years old at the time of his arrival in that country. Thus, in attempting to give a comprehensive account of him, some attention must be paid to such details as are known of his early life and formative years. The chief events are fairly well known, and most of them can be traced from his personal papers in the British Museum, yet even with the help of these, the background remains shadowy, and his development during his most impressionable years, a matter of conjecture.

The family of the Des Maizeaux came from the Bourbonnais, and seem to have been protestants of some substance ¹⁾. Four young men of this name were entered as students at the Academy of Geneva during the middle decades of the 17th century : Théophile in 1639, Louis in 1640, Abraham in 1649 and Samuel in 1662. The second of these, Louis, is identified by the Haag brothers as the father of Pierre Des Maizeaux. Louis Des Maizeaux was born at Bourbon-Lancy sometime during the period 1623-1625 ²⁾. After completing his studies at Geneva,

1) Haag. La France Protestante, V. p.315.

2) s. p.2.

he entered the protestant ministry, and between 1654 and 1660 is recorded as having been pastor in Vallon, Chomérac and St. Vincent-de-Barrès ³⁾. Thereafter he served for 25 years as the minister of Paillat, one of the four principal protestant communities in the province of Auvergne. His duties were not light, for in addition to Paillat, Louis Des Maizeaux served the churches of Issoire and Chirac, a considerable distance away, and in ministering to his scattered flock, he appears to have gained the reputation of a respected and energetic figure. He married Marie du Monteil, a native of Issoire, of whom little is known ⁴⁾. A woman of simple virtue, but not outstanding culture, she was some twenty years younger than her husband, according to the not always reliable registers of refugees of the Revocation in Switzerland, and was to survive him by an even longer period.

Pierre Des Maizeaux was the only child of this marriage, born in 1673 ⁵⁾. There is every indication that he was born

2) (from p.1) Haag gives 1625 as the year of Louis Des Maizeaux's birth, but this does not accord with statements of his age in the registers of refugees at Avenches in 1696 and 1698. See Bulletin Vol.87, p.198 and Vol.85, p.46. Also MS. 4289/336.

3) Haag, op. cit.

4) Bulletin Vol.87 p.198.

5) There is an alternative tradition that DM was born in 1666, which is accepted by the Haag brothers. This probably goes back to an erroneous contemporary account. The date 1673 is supported by a certificate by the pastor of Avenches. MS. 4289/336, and the 1698/register of/1696 refugees at Avenches. See Bulletin, Vol.85. p.46.

into a happy home, and that his parents lived together in complete harmony, but it is impossible not to see in the disparity of his parents' ages, the fact that his father was 50 at the time of his birth and the probability that the boy led a solitary life in an austere household, factors which almost certainly influenced his character in later life, if only by reaction. The family probably lived in tranquillity during the first twelve years of Des Maizeaux's life; there are a few references to Louis des Maizeaux carrying out the routine of his duties without interruption until 1685, when the blow of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes fell heavily upon the ageing pastor and his family. On September 2 of that momentous year, he preached a sermon ⁶⁾ containing injudicious remarks concerning the opinion of Kings commonly held by the Romans, but urging his flock to honour Louis XIV in spite of the sacrifice of the protestants, and saying of Louis that

"il étoit comme un père qui châtie ses enfants
et ne laisse pas de les aimer".

The next day, Louis Des Maizeaux was charged with sedition, and although he was probably freed shortly afterwards, there was only one possible course for the family to take. Accordingly, they joined the exodus of refugees to Switzerland and thus, at the age of twelve, Pierre Des Maizeaux left his native

6) Haag, op. cit. and Bulletin, Vol. 34, p.485.

country and was never again, as far as can be established, to set foot on French soil. From scattered references in Des Maizeaux's papers, especially in his mother's letters, it seems probable that other branches of the family found asylum in Switzerland, and that some members of it may have reached England at a relatively early stage of the exodus ⁷⁾. The ultimate refuge of Louis Des Maizeaux, his wife and his son, was the ancient town of Avenches in the canton of Vaud, the old capital of the Helvetii, and rich in Roman remains. Here again, it is tempting to see an environment which may have awakened and nourished the young Des Maizeaux's interest in antiquity.

Avenches appears to have received about 50 refugees (they numbered 44 in 1693), and the pastor's family are listed as

7) MS 4289/39-40. Marie Des Maizeaux to DM. He was certain not the only bearer of his unusual name in England. The Oath Roll Naturalizations list for 1710 in which "Peter Des Maizeaux" is listed, also includes a Samuel Des Maizeaux. (cf. Haag's article). Publ. Huguenot Soc. of London XXVII, p.95. An otherwise fruitless search at Somerset House revealed a record of letters of administration in respect of "Anne de Messeeux", also naturalized in 1710 under her maiden name of Bouvat, and not to be confused with DM's own wife, also Agne. He does not appear to have paid any attention to his relatives in England.

pensioners there ⁸⁾. From this time forward they lived quiet and restricted lives on the limited resources of their modest pension ("4 sous blancs et 2 bichets par mois"), and for the first three years of exile, until he was 15, Des Maizeaux learnt his lessons at the school of Avenches, with, no doubt, supervision and instruction from his father. A certificate by the pastor of Avenches ⁹⁾ - the same as that which provides the strongest evidence of the boy's age - gives one to believe that Des Maizeaux was a model pupil, and, it is to be feared, possibly a prig. Morel, the pastor, writing at the time when the boy had exhausted the educational resources of Avenches and the supervisory capacity of his father, is not sparing with his praises, when recommending Des Maizeaux to the various academies at which he might wish to study.

"J'atteste que ledit Pierre Des Maizeaux le fils, a donné toutes les marques qu'il étoit véritablement fils de son Père. - Je veux dire qu'il avoit de fortes et de vives impressions de la vie de Monsieur son Père,

8) Registers of refugees at Avenches with notes on their history and status, are published in the Bulletin, Vol.82, p.339; Vol. 85, p.46; and Vol.87, p.187; derived from the Bern State Archives.

9) MS. 4289/336.

la plus honneste, debonnaire, pieuse et la plus
exemplaire qu'on puisse demander du plus homme de
bien, puis que ledt. Pierre son fils, a fait
paroître une debonnaireté, honnêteté et une piété
extraordinaire qui surpasse son âge."

Louis Des Maizeaux's hope was that his son should also enter
the ministry, and thus Morel recommended the boy to all
"Pasteurs, Professeurs et Régents" in the hope that

"par ce moyen ils donneront cette grande consolation
à ce bon et vénérable ancien Père et Pasteur, de
lui donner l'espérance qu'il sera un jour son
successeur fidèle, pour réédifier les murailles de
Jérusalem abattues."

This certificate was written in September 1688, and it may
be reasonably assumed that shortly afterwards Des Maizeaux
left home to pursue his studies elsewhere. There is, however,
no evidence as to his movements during the next two years,
although it is possible that he spent some time in Lausanne ¹⁰.
It is certain that during the summer of 1690 he went to Bern,
where he was to spend five years studying at the Lyceum,
supporting himself partly by working as a tutor. A testimonial
from the Lyceum ¹¹), dated February 1693, notes his progress
in philosophy and theology, and characterizes him as "honestus,
candidus, probus". Des Maizeaux continued to live at Bern
until May 1695, tutoring and continuing his own theological
studies. By this time, his conduct and progress were giving

10) A letter to DM in 1731 from one Soyer, tutor to an English
nobleman, refers to DM having spent a fairly long time
in Lausanne. 1688-1690 seems the most probable period
for this. MS. 4288/169.

11) MS. 4289/80.

promise that he would one day become

"un bon instrument à la main de Dieu pour édifier son Eglise en travaillant à l'oeuvre du St. Ministère."

These are the words of yet another testimonial, by the pastor and elders of the French Church of Bern ¹²⁾, proclaiming that Des Maizeaux had lived

"d'une manière sage et chrestienne, de sorte que sa conduite a édifié notre troupeau."

Among the signatories, the name of Duncan appears, to indicate what may have been an important contact for the future biographer of Bayle. Daniel Duncan, of Scottish origin, was born at Montauban, and had been a contemporary of Bayle at Puy-laurens. A physician of European reputation, he did much to assist the refugees of Bern and Geneva. Des Maizeaux evidently received encouragement from him, and it is possible that he helped to form the young man's interest both in Bayle and in England. Their contact was to be renewed in England almost twenty years later.

Meanwhile Des Maizeaux, after collecting his testimonials from Bern - for he was a prudent youth in that respect - travelled to Geneva, where he was entered at the Academy, also in May 1695, as "Petrus Desmaizeaux paillacensis apud Avernos". ¹³⁾ Although he spent almost four years in Geneva, hardly any details are known of his life there; as usual, carefully preserved testimonials provide a few general indications, which

12) MS.4289/83. This testimonial confirms that DM. worked as a tutor in Bern.

13) Haag. op. cit.

can be supplemented by a few odd letters addressed to him. It is unfortunate that the documentation for this period of his life should be so limited, because there can scarcely be and doubt that these four years brought new influences to bear, and marked a considerable development and change in the young man's outlook and character. At Geneva, he had the advantage of studying under a number of distinguished teachers and theologians, such as Jacques Sarasin, Louis Tronchin, Pichet, Minutoli, the liberal Theologian J.- A. Turretin¹⁴ and others. Contact with these men implied moving on a higher intellectual plane, and meant that Des Maizeaux was now within the circle in which Bayle, for example, would be felt as a powerful force. Several of his teachers corresponded with Bayle, and one or two, including Tronchin and Turretini, were in touch with England and English personalities such as Burnet.

It is not difficult to imagine a rapid development in Des Maizeaux's interests and capacities in such an environment. The official certificate which he received on quitting the academy in 1699 ¹⁴⁾ testifies to his assiduity not only as a student of theology and active participant in debates, but as a seeker after all kinds of knowledge, especially in the spheres of French and Latin literature. There are signs that Des Maizeaux's intellectual horizon became considerably wider during these years, and that his mind was already beginning to

14) MS. 4289/87.

turn away from the career in the protestant ministry, to which he had been destined for so long. Maturity and greater freedom from parental restraint were bringing an inevitable reaction after a somewhat repressed youth. He seems to have been sociable and generous to a fault, since a letter written by his mother ¹⁵⁾, years later, suggests that on one occasion he found himself in difficulties as a result of lending money indiscriminately, but of his friends at this period nothing certain is known. They included, however, almost certainly, the miscellaneous writer Georges-Louis Le Sage, ~~author~~ ^{author} of the Remarques sur l'Angleterre, who had already spent some time in England, and was completing his studies in Geneva before returning to that country in 1700. Like Des Maizeaux himself, Le Sage turned his back upon the Ministry, for he had too independent a mind to adapt himself completely to such a career. These two men were certainly well-known to each other in England, and it is not unlikely that it was Le Sage who finally confirmed Des Maizeaux in his intention to visit England, already attracting the attention of the refugees as the home of liberal thinking.

It was in Geneva too, that Des Maizeaux developed another interest which he was never to lose - namely a kind of passion for books in themselves, for the study of typography and for the technical aspects of publishing and bookselling. Writing

15) MS. 4289/39 - 40.

to Des Maizeaux in 1707, Pérachon, a well-known publisher of Geneva, after complimenting him on his growing reputation, adds : -

"j'ay vu aussi que bien loin d'avoir oublié ce que vous saviez de la Librairie, vos y avez acquis beaucoup de connoissances."

Indeed, says Pérachon, his knowledge of book-production exceeds that of many men in the trade :

"- ce qui est d'autant plus admirable que vos n'y avez pas été élevé, et que vous vous êtes d'ailleurs fort attaché à l'Etude." 16)

Reading this, one can picture the young student haunting the bookshops of Geneva, conversing with the bibliopoles of that city, learning to love and recognize old and rare editions. It is possible that he sought employment in the trade, to supplement his meagre resources, or that he occasionally dealt in books himself; but it was as a tutor that he was chiefly employed. Towards the end of his four years in Geneva, Des Maizeaux was tutor to the children of one Perdriau, a prosperous citizen, who, in a letter to old Louis Des Maizeaux expressed complete satisfaction with his son's work 17). In April 1699 Perdriau, having other plans for

- 16) MS. 4287/222-3. Pérachon to DM. Jan. 18, 1707.

17) MS. 4289/89. The standard Swiss biographical dictionary mentions two Geneva families named Perdriau. DM's employer may have been Pierre Perdriau, d. 1700, a "syndic" in 1699, or Jean-Daniel Perdriau, who became a councillor of Geneva in 1702.

his children, ended Des Maizeaux's employment, but by this time the latter had already made plans to visit Holland and England, seeking, perhaps, a more liberal environment, and new opportunities in the literary world. Whether he contemplated settling in England at this stage is uncertain, but he appears to have appreciated that England offered great new possibilities. Ostensibly, at least, he still intended to continue his theological studies; letters written subsequently by his parents ¹⁸⁾, however, suggest that his father was already a suspicious and disappointed man, entertaining real misgivings as to his son's intentions, and that Des Maizeaux's departure may have occasioned somewhat painful scenes. As to the manner of his going, it may be questioned how he obtained funds for his journey, after living in poor circumstances in Geneva. A possible answer is suggested by a

18) Four letters from Louis des Maizeaux to his son (MS. 4289/29-36) show that although DM maintained at least a pretence of wishing to enter the ministry, the old pastor gradually lost his illusions. The record of his grief is a pathetic one; his dying words to his wife were :

"Quand vous écrirez à mon Fils, Mandez luy qu'il demande bien pardon à Dieu, de bon coeur, de ce qu'il ne m'a pas voulu croire et suivre mes saintes exhortations".

MS. 4289/37-8. Marie Des Maizeaux to DM. Jan. 7, 1702.

letter from an Amsterdam bookseller, and a promissory note signed by Des Maizeaux ¹⁹⁾. These refer to a consignment of books on a wholesale scale, ordered by him in 1698. They were doubtless disposed of in Geneva, but payment was put off until his arrival in Holland, and then deferred again, with a promise to pay the bookseller's London agent in two months. In fact the debt was not discharged until 1705, and it would seem that the money obtained by this transaction helped to finance Des Maizeaux on his journey to London.

In April 1699, he bade farewell to Geneva, and was probably in Holland by May, more burdened with miscellaneous learning than with money, confident of finding fortune in Holland or England, but already in poor health, afflicted in head, eyes and limbs by some unspecified ailment, the penalty, perhaps, of a too serious application to his books ²⁰⁾. At 26 or 27, Des Maizeaux possessed sufficient intelligence, learning and confidence to create a favourable impression among the refugees of Holland. His years of study and omnivorous reading in Switzerland had given him a sound

19) MS. 4285/188-190.

20) DM's ill-health is a recurring topic in his correspondence. The earliest reference is an account in Latin of the progress of an ailment in the nature of a cramp, affecting his head and limbs. It is written in the third person, but seems to refer to DM, and if reliable, indicates that his health began to trouble him in February 1699. MS. 4289/85.

knowledge of the classics and French literature; his subsequent interests imply considerable progress in Hebrew, and notes and transcriptions exist to prove at least a working knowledge of Italian and Spanish ³ 21). It is superfluous to insist upon his command of philosophy and theology, and it is probable, too, that the natural sciences had already awakened his interest. One cannot form any real idea of Des Maizeaux as a personality at this stage; the impression he made upon those whom he met in Holland seems to have been that of an agreeable young man, intelligent, learned, earnest and perhaps a little too polite. He had not yet abandoned the intention to enter the protestant ministry, but his determination must have been further weakened by the atmosphere in which he now found himself, and the contact with greater and more open minds than those he had known previously. His stay in Holland was brief, but during those few weeks of the early summer he came to know Bayle and his circle in Rotterdam, and that curious figure Benjamin Furly, the English merchant and Quaker, the friend of Locke, Shaftesbury and Bayle himself. On June 19 he was in Amsterdam ²²), where he encountered Jean Le Clerc and his lifelong

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21) The English letter in N.R.L. July 1701 Art.7, definitely by DM, reveals a knowledge of Italian literature. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4257/74 - 81 contains Spanish transcriptions in his writing. This belongs to the uncatalogued MS. material in the British Museum.

22) MS. 4285/189; dated promissory note.

correspondent De la Motte. The young man was impressed by Amsterdam, and recommended the town many years later to the French journalist Camusat, as "une ville à voir"²³⁾. During his short stay in Holland, he must have made good use of his talent for observation and enquiry to acquire a wide knowledge of the personalities and ways of that great cosmopolitan centre of publishing and journalism, with which he never lost touch, and of which he was to become one of the most assiduous agents in England. Indeed, the extent of his connections with the French writers and publishers in Holland has created an impression that Des Maizeaux frequently revisited that country. In fact, among all the manuscript and printed sources of information, there is not a single piece of evidence to prove, or even to support this idea ²⁴⁾.

23) MSS. Royal Library, Copenhagen. Bøll. Brevs. V.40 165. Camusat to DM. Jan. 27. 1723.

"Vous avez bien raison ... de dire qu'Amsterdam est une ville à voir."

24) Masson, in his articles in the Bulletin, and Sayous in Le 18e Siècle à l'Etranger both reveal this notion that DM. visited the continent occasionally. Sayous (I, pp.15-17) quoting a specific letter written to DM during an absence from London, assumes that he must be abroad; in fact DM. was in Hampshire. Masson, too, is prone to making loose generalizations about "la vie aventureuse" of DM (e.g. Bulletin. Vol.19-21. p.77). These misconceptions, though natural, demonstrate the need to reassemble the MS. material on a chronological basis, before drawing conclusions. A case quoted by Masson of a letter in which Jacques Bernard mentions having been unable to meet DM. in Holland because of illness, proves nothing, because it is Bernard's first letter, referring clearly to DM's passage through Holland in 1699. (MS. 4281/80).

His first-hand acquaintance with Holland can scarcely have lasted more than two months, and contact was afterwards maintained by correspondence and by the goings and comings of others. Towards the end of June 1699, he took ship for England, always his real goal, and his home for the remaining 46 years of his life.

Having something of the temperament of an itinerant scholar of former ages, he does not appear to have come to England with any precise plan, except perhaps a general desire growing stronger all the time, to escape the necessity of entering the ministry, for which he must already have felt himself to be quite unfitted by character and inclination. The appeal of England was felt not by the prospective clergyman, but by the young man of letters who saw there literary opportunities which did not exist in Switzerland, for translating, perhaps, or in the new kind of journalism which was becoming increasingly popular since Bayle had launched the République des Lettres. Whatever the precise reason may have been, it is certain that for some time he had been powerfully attracted by England, through his own intellectual inclinations through hopes of fortune, or simply through curiosity aroused by the reports of others. The time had now come when he would experience for himself the life of this still remote country, becoming known as the cradle of revolution, new philosophies and distinctive theologies, and a place very

- 16 -

different from his native Auvergne or Switzerland. As the young exile stepped ashore in a new country, at the threshold of a new century, he must surely have felt some thr  ll of expectancy, realizing that this was a moment from which there would be no turning back.

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Chapter II.

ENGLISH ADVENTURE.

The standard accounts of Des Maizeaux give the impression that he arrived in England armed with an introduction from Bayle to the Earl of Shaftesbury. The truth is that the young adventurer - for such he may legitimately be called - did not enter into his association with the author of the Characteristicks for nearly two years after coming to England. If he brought introductions, they are more likely to have been given him by the kindly Benjamin Furly, for his first English associations seem to have been in mercantile circles. After disembarking, he found a modest lodging with a wig-maker in St. Martin's Lane and thus found himself at once in surroundings which were to become very familiar in later years. The first impact upon him of London life was what might be expected; he was now a refugee not only from Louis XIV's France, but from the austerity of his life as a theological student in Calvinist Geneva. Alas for the "belle et bonne plante" of 1688 ! In one of his earliest letters, to an unknown English acquaintance, he writes : -

"Sr. You gave me yesterday so fair account of ye coquetes of this Town, that I was almost induced to have some acquaintance with them. For, to tell you the truth, I am not insensible of ye world, and I can not but be mightily pleased with ye ladies, who

have a quick temper, a subtil wit, roguish eyes and gay and indearing manners; in a word, I say it again, I am sure 't is nothing more delightfull in Nature, than to be with young, brisk and amorous virgins".¹⁾

But Des Maizeaux had more serious preoccupations also, during the summer of 1699. He was improving his English, of which he must have had some smattering previously. An English friend was teaching him, and in spite of the pitfalls he was

"resolved to continue in hope to make daily better with the help of God " 1).

In his search for a means of earning a living, he had thought of translating, and letter-writing, either for business purposes or for the journals. On August 1st he wrote to the same friend of "a new dessigne to writte Letters instead of turning French into English" ¹⁾ and lamented his inadequate grasp of the language. Perhaps he was already on the way to becoming a bookseller's hack, but he had other ambitions, and lost no time in writing to Holland, to cultivate the acquaintances he had made there. To Bayle, at that time revising his Dictionary for the second edition, he sent notes concerning various articles, and a book relating to Spinoza, and so began a valuable correspondence ²⁾. To Le Clerc went a book containing an attack upon him, for the critic's attention ³⁾, and to De la Motte he sent suggestions for a regular correspondence on literary matters, presumably with

1) MS. 4289/337. This folio contains the drafts of four separate notes, written at about the same time (July-August 1699) and presumably to the same person.

2) Bayle. Letters. 1729. No.198. Bayle to DM. July 28, 1699.

3) MS. 4282/99. Le Clerc to DM. Aug.27,1699, concerning criticisms of Le Clerc by John Edwards.

an eye to the literary journals ⁴⁾. While awaiting the results of these overtures, Des Maizeaux continued to improve his English, and to observe the life of the capital from the "coffy houses" -

" - the place where we can learn what news is said in ye Town or in ye Country; as well here as in ye others strang Countries" ¹⁾.

At this glittering and eventful period, he must have found much to interest him besides the "coquettes" of London. To his father, however, who was now hoping to move to Frankfurt he wrote of his intention to take another post as tutor, until he could devote himself entirely to his theological studies ⁵⁾. Perhaps this was not altogether insincere; in any case, he does seem to have taken a post during the autumn for he was then living in the house of a certain Mr. D'Aranda at Shoreham in Kent, close to Sevenoaks. This D'Aranda, known also as D'Arande or Durand, was a Turkey-merchant in London, known to Furly, and later an intermediary between Furly and Shaftesbury. Believed to be of Spanish origin, the D'Aranda family had found refuge and prosperity in England since the early 17th century, and included in their ranks a Fellow of Pembroke College and several protestant ministers. It was probably as tutor to Paul D'Aranda's son, then about 14 years old, that Des Maizeaux spent some six months in

4) MS. 4286/1-2. De la Motte to DM. Feb. 11. 1700.

5) MS. 4289/29-30. Louis Des Maizeaux to DM. Dec. 2. 1699.

Kent ⁶⁾. Of his life there nothing is known, except that he became a friend of the local clergyman, William Wall, later to gain distinction as an Anglican divine, for his support of infant baptism ⁷⁾.

His leisure hours were now spent in studying English writings, particularly works on theology or ecclesiastical matters, and in preparing more remarks for Bayle, who had given some encouragement to his young admirer. Thanking him for a "mémoire", Bayle wrote : -

"Que n'ai-je le tems, Monsieur, de m'étendre sur votre savante Lettre du 4 Décembre. Je vous puis assurer qu'elle me donne une haute idée de vos lumières, et qu'il me semble qu'elle produiroit le même effet dans l'esprit des plus difficiles censeurs." ⁸⁾

This did not prevent Bayle from hinting that he had not really the time to maintain a regular correspondence with Des Maizeaux, but the latter's persistence triumphed in the end. At about this time, too, he put forward proposals for what would have been his first literary work of any significance - a Latin translation of Bishop Burnet's latest work, the Exposition of the 39 Articles. Bayle actually negotiated

6) For notes on the D'Aranda family see Agnew, Protestant Exiles. 3rd Ed. I. p.85 and II. pp.368-9. D'Aranda is also mentioned in a letter from Shaftesbury to Farly of April 15, 1701. Public Record Office. Shaftesbury Papers. Bde. 20. No.22.

7) MS. 4288/230. One undated letter from Wall to DM. Wall's connection with D'Aranda is also mentioned in a letter from G. L. Le Sage, in 1743. MS. 4287/277-8.

8) Bayle. Letters. 1729. No.203. Bayle to DM. Dec. 29. 1699.

with his own publisher Leers, on Des Maizeaux's behalf, but the plan fell through, apparently because of competition from Luke Milbourn, Dryden's enemy and a high-church clergyman, then prudently living in Holland ⁹⁾. This project, unimportant in itself, shows that Des Maizeaux's interest had already been roused by the writings of the latitudinarian bishop.

Meanwhile, his other attempts to develop contacts with the refugees in Holland had not gone unheeded. Jean Le Clerc was friendly, and De la Motte (who seems to have played an important though indefinable part in the literary activity of Holland) had responded by putting Des Maizeaux in touch with Jacques Bernard at The Hague ⁴⁾. Bernard, preacher, professor and journalist, had already collaborated in various periodicals with Bayle, Le Clerc and Basnage, and in July 1699, the time of Des Maizeaux's arrival in England, had succeeded in resuscitating the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres. It is true that he was manifestly inferior to Bayle, and that the real successor to the original République des Lettres was Basnage's Histoire des Ouvrages des Savants. Bernard's share of the heritage was the original publisher, Desbordes, and the title, nevertheless the journal still had a decade of honourable existence before it, in Bernard's hands. Having survived the first few months, Bernard needed a more reliable correspondent in England, and Des Maizeaux's proposals to De la Motte met

9) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4226/143. Not printed by DM. in his collection of Bayle's Letters.

the case admirably. Accordingly, he wrote to Des Maizeaux in January 1700 1-

"Pour ce qui me regarde, je suis dans une situation à devoir souhaiter passionnément qu'une personne aussi intelligente que vous l'êtes, m'instruise de ce qui arrive en Angleterre par rapport aux Belles-Lettres. Il est vrai que j'ay dans votre pays quelques Amis qui m'en informent de tems en tems; mais l'un ne réside point à Londres, et l'autre est si distrait par d'autres affaires qu'il ne peut pas me satisfaire toujours régulièrement à tout ce que j'exigerois de lui. Si vous vouliez donc vous donner la peine de supplier à leur défaut, vous me feriez un fort grand plaisir." 10)

By April, arrangements were made for a regular monthly letter from England, to be sent by way of a London Merchant and Benjamin Furly at Rotterdam. Such was the initiation of Des Maizeaux into journalism, and the beginning of a literary correspondence which was to continue almost without interruption for forty years, in the service of one journal or another.

It was perhaps in response to the demands made upon him by this new commitment, or in the hope of finding a more profitable post, that Des Maizeaux returned to London, probably early in May. His first year in England had not led him into very exalted circles, he was doubtless glad enough to have contrived to exist, and he had at least gained some knowledge of the life, language and literature of his

10) MS. 4281/80. Bennard to DM. Jan. 1700.

new country, and the possibility of some sort of a career as a man of letters, which was now clearly his cherished ambition. It is scarcely surprising that his father was now expressing to him uneasiness because he had not reported progress in his theological studies. Des Maizeaux now took lodgings among many of his fellow-countrymen in Soho, and began to make his way into literary circles, not forgetting, of course, to continue his correspondence with Bayle, whom he was now setting right over points concerning English theological writings. Whether he at once found a domestic or tutorial post, or supported himself by literary work, is not clear, but he soon contrived to establish some useful contacts, among them Dr. Hans Sloane, at that time secretary to the Royal Society, and reviver of the Philosophical Transactions, which Des Maizeaux used extensively as a guide to the progress of science in England. He never left the respectful ranks of Sloane's admirers, and profited in many ways from the association ¹¹⁾. Another life-long friendship now begun was with the family of Sir Ralph Dutton, of Sherborne in Gloucestershire, and his father-in-law Dr. Peter Barwick, now old and blind, but formerly physician to Charles II. To

11) Brit. Mus. Sloane MSS. 4038/65. DM. to Sloane, written from Kensington Sept. 8, 1700. This is the earliest fully-dated letter to Sloane, and contains references to the Duttons and to "Mr. le Docteur" - presumably Barwick.

this family Des Maizeaux had cause to be grateful for continued goodwill and many benefits, one of which may have been his introduction to the group surrounding St. Evremond, the subject of his first experiment in biography. Des Maizeaux had certainly made the acquaintance of the old Epicurean by the autumn of 1700 ¹²⁾, and by the end of the year had become a regular member of a small literary society which met at Somerset House, around the person of Charles Killigrew, the Master of the Revels, patentee of Drury Lane, and Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to King William. This was in all probability another point of contact with St. Evremond, and Sloane too was a member, as were Awnsham and John Churchill, leading publishers of the time ¹³⁾. From a number of notes from Des Maizeaux to Sloane, it appears that this

12) The earliest reference to St. Evremond in DM's correspondence seems to be one in a letter from Bayle dated Oct. 22, 1700. Bayle, Letters. 1729, No. 210. This is probably a reliable indication of the beginning of the association. In the Vie de St. Evremond, DM. is deliberately vague on this point.

13) The source of information on this literary and social group is DM's letters to Sloane. Brit.Mus. Sloane MSS. 4037/376; 4058/233 and 237-8.

St. Evremond's connection with the Killigrews is suggested by a letter from Constantijn Huygens to Ninon de l'Enclos, May 14, 1671, which refers to St. Evremond's appreciation of the musical talents of "Mme. Killigrew".

Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens. ed. *erp. VI. p.287, quoted by J. Cohen in Le Sejour de St. Evremond en Hollande.

company used to assemble on Mondays, to exchange conversation and news on literary topics of all kinds. Periodicals were popular, and Sloane and his new friend exchanged regularly the Philosophical Transactions and the "Journal de Mr. Bernard". This hitherto unrecorded social group doubtless gave the young journalist an excellent opportunity for observing English literary and intellectual life from the inside, for it combined the spirit of Restoration days with that of a new era of science and rationalism. Des Maizeaux' movements are varied and uncertain at this early period of his life in England; sometimes he writes from Dr. Sarwick's house in Kensington, and receives his own letters at Comerse House, direct or by way of the Hon. George Jayer, vice-chamberlain to the Queen. What is certain, is that he had progressed rapidly to a higher social plane, and was resolved to stay there if possible; it may be imagined that this was much more to his liking than Shoreham, and the society of merchants and parsons.

So the winter passed, and he began to feel more at home in the cosmopolitan society in which he now found himself. There is little trace of his own literary activity at this point, except the now regular dispatch of letters to Bernard which informed the readers of the République des Lettres of the latest books appearing in England. Nevertheless, his first identifiable piece of writing other than simple

reporting had appeared during the autumn. This was a critical letter published by Bernard ¹⁴⁾, containing remarks on translations of the Bible, called forth by Le Clerc's version of the New Testament. It is an intelligent plea for sound translation - "un portrait naïf et une copie fidelle", and reveals in its author a critical spirit, directed chiefly against interpretations based on personal or sectarian prejudice. A sound linguistic approach has more weight with him than any considerations of theology, and he rejects any sort of preference for the old translations for their own sake. In its modest way, this début is not without significance, and is worth noting for its revelation of the young Des Maizeaux's real interest in textual criticism applied to the scriptures. This article gave rise to some discussion with Furly, and Des Maizeaux appears to have gone into points of interpretation with Wall, during his stay at Shoreham. Meanwhile, Jacques Bernard was beginning to realize that his young correspondent had an independent turn of mind, and this letter, together with an abstract of Burnet's account of the 39 Articles, called forth words of caution from the older man, who placed tact at

14) N.R.L. Nov. 1700, Art.1. "Lettre contenant quelques Remarques sur les Versions de l'Ecriture Sainte." Discussion with Furly occurs in MS. 4283/263-6 and 267-8. Furly to DM. 1700 - 1701. The letter from Wall also refers to similar points. MS. 4288/230.

the head of the qualities of the good journalist - not unnaturally, since there was little less bigotry in protestant Holland than in Catholic France.

"On n'ose pas parler en ce pays comme au lieu où vous êtes et il y a toute apparence, qu'après un pareil extrait, je n'en ferois jamais d'autre. Je dois narrer les choses historiquement sans prendre parti." ¹⁵ ^{BM}

And again, the journalist insists -

"nous vivons dans un Pays où nous ne sommes pas si libertins que vous l'êtes en Angleterre" 16).

Poor Bernard, terrified of "affaires", and at a disadvantage, as a clergyman, impresses upon his hypercritical protégé that

"Jésus-Christ, qui veut que nous ayons la douceur des Colombes, nous exhorte aussi à avoir la prudence des serpens" 17).

Clearly it had not taken Des Maizeaux long to respond to the more liberal atmosphere across the water, and experience had not yet taught him that flattery might pay better dividends than candour. In fact, his imprudence led him into an embarrassing, though amusing situation during the following

15) MS. 4281/82. Bernard to DM. April 6. 1700. This refers to an abstract of Burnet's book which appeared in N.R.L. Aug. 1700 (Art.2). It was toned down by Bernard, but even as it stands, its exposition of Burnet's ideas on toleration, criticisms of Calvinism and Protestant dissensions in general, might easily give offence in some quarters. hence Bernard's nervousness.

16) MS. 4281/86-87. Bernard to DM. May 20. 1700.

17) MS. 4281/90-91. Bernard to DM. Aug. 5. 1700.

year. His acquaintance with Hans Sloane and his friends had aroused in Des Maizeaux a new ambition - that of securing election to the Royal Society. This desire was to torment him for many a year, and had already begun to do so in November 1700, when he wrote to the illustrious secretary : -

"Si j'étois venu plutôt de la campagne, j'aurois pris la liberté de vous demander si vous n'aurez pas pu me procurer l'honneur d'être fait membre de la Société Royale. J'ai celui d'être connu de St. Berkeley Lucy, et de Messieurs Pujolas, Silvestre, Buissière, de Moine, Fatio et de quelques autres Membres de la Société qui ne m'auroient pas refusé leurs suffrages; mais s'il est trop tard, ce sera pour une autre fois, que j'en serai peut-être moins indigne." 18)

Des Maizeaux certainly knew what he wanted, but twenty years were to pass before his election, a circumstance which may not be unconnected with the fact that in a newsletter published by Bernard in 1701, he was unwise enough to criticize the Royal Society, and in particular the Philosophical Transactions.¹⁹⁾ As usual, Bernard cautioned him :

"Ne craignez-vous point de vous faire des affaires avec la Société Royale ? Nous avons un proverbe dans notre gascon qui dit qu'il n'y a point de buisson qui ne fasse ombre; et nous avons tous besoin les uns des autres." 20)

Des Maizeaux agreed with this counsel, but by ill-fortune the offending remarks were printed, and consequently the luckless journalist had to recant in a letter to Sloane, with

18) Brit. Mus. Sloane MSS. 4058/233. DM. to Sloane Nov.27

19) N.R.L. Aug.1701. Art.2. Sept. 1701 Art. 2.

1700 (?)

20) MS. 4281/104-5. Bernard to DM. May 3, 1701.

a perfect flood of remorseful apologies, pointing out somewhat naively that the letter had been written before he had the honour of knowing Sloane ²¹⁾. He developed an unpleasant aptitude for that kind of technique, and one cannot help thinking better of him in the days of his cheerful candour. This experience must have damped his critical ardour considerably, and his apologies probably made matters worse in the very quarter where he had hoped for early recognition. This year, however, brought Des Maizeaux two more acquaintances of note, one of whom materially influenced his future.

It will already be clear that the former ornament of the faculty of theology at Geneva, the pious youth of Avenche had set foot upon the slipping slope to scepticism. He had met Bayle and was now cultivating St. Evremond assiduously, and the result had already occasioned some qualms of anxiety in the nervous Bernard. In May 1701 he felt obliged to warn Des Maizeaux yet again - this time against the Arminian theologian Charles Le Cène. According to Bernard, Le Cène was a consistent liar, and -

"le Sr. Toland est sur le même pié; aussi a-t-il fait des affaires à une infinité d'honnêtes gens par ses insignes impostures." 22)

21) Brit. Mus. Sloane MSS. 4038/233. DM. to Sloane. Sept. 13, 1701.

22) MS. 4281/104-5. Bernard to DM. May 3. 1701.

Never was there such a man as Bernard for scenting "affaires" but as far as Toland was concerned, he need not have worried yet. His mention of the man is interesting only as the first indication of Des Maizeaux's association with the English deists, about which there will be much to say. At this period, Toland had managed to survive the storm created by Christianity Not Mysterious, and was climbing into a limited degree of favour as a result of his activities as a pamphleteer. At about the time when Des Maizeaux appears to have encountered him, he was preparing Anglia Libera, in defence of the Act of Succession. This was published in June 1701, and it brought Toland the opportunity of accompanying Lord Macclesfield on a diplomatic mission to Germany in the July. For a time, therefore, there was no further opportunity for Des Maizeaux to develop a closer acquaintance with this disreputable, but influential adventurer. Nevertheless there are grounds for suspecting that before his departure, Toland may have drawn Des Maizeaux's attention to the possibility of obtaining the patronage of an even more influential figure - the third Earl of Shaftesbury.

It is well known that Des Maizeaux was recommended to the famous virtuoso by Bayle, but, as has already been remarked, this event did not take place when he first arrived in England. Now, shortly after the earliest reference to Toland, comes a mention of Shaftesbury in a letter from Bayl

The latter apparently penned his recommendation in response to an appeal from his disciple, to whom he wrote :

"Je souhaite passionnément que Mylord Shaftesbury vous rende service, quand l'occasion s'en présentera; je suis bien persuadé que se connoissant comme il fait en mérite, et ayant les inclinations généreuses, il se fera un vrai plaisir de vous obliger." 23)

It is not likely that Des Maizeaux lost any time in sallying forth from his lodging at the sign of the Sun in Church Street Soho, to present his exceedingly humble respects to Mylord Shaftesbury. To the young refugee struggling for recognition of some genuine talents, this must have seemed a day of great opportunities. And so, in a way, it was, for Shaftesbury's reception of him must have been at least polite and encouraging, although there could scarcely have been any illusions on either side. In retrospect, it is unfortunate that Des Maizeaux lacked the wit or the capacity to make the most of Shaftesbury, but at least, the beginning of the association was auspicious enough, to judge from the letters which passed between them. They merit quotation for the light they throw upon a hitherto neglected piece of literary history. On July 21, 1701 Des Maizeaux wrote : -

"Mylord, Le prompt départ de Votre Grandeur m'a privé de l'honneur de l'assurer de mes profonds respects, avant qu'Elle partit pour la Campagne; et une indisposition qui me tient encore en Ville, ne m'a pas permis de prendre plutôt la liberté de lui écrire. Je le fais à présent, Mylord, confus de toutes les bontés que Vous avez bien voulu avoir pour moi, pénétré des faveurs que Vous avez daigné

23) Bayle, Letters. 1729, No. 215. Bayle to M. June 10, 1701.

me faire, et au desespoir d'être dans l'impossibilité de pouvoir Vous en bien témoigner ma très humble reconnaissance. En attendant qu'un sort heureux me fournisse quelque moyen de la faire connoître, j'envoie à Votre Grandeur, la Traduction de quelques pages de l'Inquiry concerning Vertue, qu'Elle m'a ordonné de faire. Je suis trop convaincu de mon incapacité pour oser présumer, que cet "Essay" puisse avoir le bonheur de lui plaire; tout ce que je souhaite, c'est qu'Elle veuille bien le regarder comme une marque du parfait dévouement que j'aurai toute ma vie pour ses Ordres."

After discussing the difficulties which beset him in the attempt to capture the spirit of the piece which he is translating, Des Maizeaux goes on : -

"Pour yk bien réussir il faudroit lire sa Traduction à l'Auteur même, et lui demander les Eclaircissements nécessaires. C'est ainsi que Mr. Coste en a usé, dans la Traduction qu'il a faite de l'Essay de l'Entendement de Mr. Locke. Je ne crois pas outrer beaucoup, si je dis que l'Ouvrage en question est un des plus difficiles à traduire; et s'il m'appartenoit de juger d'une Langue, qu'à peine entends-je, avec le secours d'un Dictionnaire, j'ajouterois que le Style en est un peu embarrassé, et que les périodes en sont trop longues et trop chargées. Mais quand même cela seroit, on le lui pardonneroit aisément, pour les excellentes choses qu'il développe, et pour le tour vif et noble qu'il donne à ses pensées les plus abstraites. J'aurois quelques difficultés sur la matière qui est déjà traduite, mais dont je n'ai garde de fatiguer Votre Grandeur, dans une Lettre qui n'est déjà que trop longue. Cependant, quelque défectueuse que puisse être la Traduction que je prends la liberté de Vous envoyer, je tâcherai d'exécuter vos Ordres lez moins mal qu'il me sera possible 24)

24) Public Record Office, Shaftesbury Papers. Series V. Edle. 27. No. 17. A few lines of this letter referring to Bayle are printed in L. P. Courtines' Bayle's Relations with England and the English.

There is then a message from Bayle, and the letter concludes with an appeal for Shaftesbury's "Protection ... et Bienveillance." The peer replied on August 5th.

"Sir, I received yours which I had answer'd without delay but for the agreeable entertainment I had in reading your Translation communicated to me. I take it extream kindly of you, and in this or any other work of your leisure shall be glad to give you all the assistance and encouragement I am able. I have a generall Acquaintance (as you very well know) with most of our Modern Authors and free-Writers, severall of whome I have a particular influence over. If the Author of your translated treatise be one of these (as I verily believe he is) I can give you assurance of that assistance you require, and wich will be a great addition, by making the Translation in effect another Originall. In the meantime I cannot but exhort you to continue your Work begun; wch, by what I have seen hitherto, is indeed beyond any expectation I could have of a thing of like nature, and your own Thought of sending it as a present to Mr. Bayle (to whom I cannot but fancy it will be agreeable) is a further inducement to me to be urgent with you in this matter against your own Modesty.

One thing I have to add to you, as a serious and earnest request, and in wch you will infinitely oblige me ; that on the first occasion you have of writing to Mr. Bayle you would tell him how asham'd and troubled I am for having been so long in his debt as I have been, having never once writt to him since his kind and obliging Letter I receiv'd by you and in wch I have an additional obligation to him, by the acquaintance he has given me of one so deserving as your self; wch is a favour I shall allways own to him, and shew that I am not unworthy of by approving my self your sincere and hearty Friend

Shaftesbury.

If there be any service yt I can do you pr that your Circumstances need my assistance, I begg you would be free with me as with a Friend; for I intend you should use me so.* 25)

25) B. Rand, Life, Letters etc. of Shaftesbury. P. 307.
Original in D^r's papers. MS 5288/98-9.

This was encouragement indeed, and Des Maizeaux lost no time in replying. And now he confessed bluntly the truth as to his real position; after two years in England, things were going hard with him.

"Mylord, Je me croirois inexcusable si je ne remerciøis trøs humblement Votre Grandeur, de la bontø qu'elle m'a eue de ne pas døsaprover entiørement la Traduction que j'avois pris la libertø de lui envoyer. Je ne manquerai pas de faire tout ce qui døpendra de moi pour la continuer, persuadø que quelque difficile qu'il soit d'y røussir, la forte passion que j'aurai de donner à V. G. des preuves de mon obeissance m'en fera venir heureusement à bout. Døs qu'il y en aura quelques pages de mises au net, j'aurai soin de les envoyer à V. G. ... La Grace que V. G. veut bien me faire de s'informer de mon øtat, me rend d'autant plus confus, que je ne sais comment lui en tømøigner ma trøs humble reconnoissance. Je me trouve si øloignø du Talent que d'autres ont sur cette Matiøre, que je n'aurois eu garde d'en parler, si V. G. ne me l'ordonnat. Le Sort en nous rendant malheureux, devroit du moins effacer de notre øprit les impressions de honte et de retenue, que l'Education y a faites. Cela le rend doublement injuste. Mais puisque V. G. le souhaite, je prendrai la hardiesse de lui dire que ma petite fortune est assez dølabrøe, qu'il s'en fait plus de dix à douze piøces que je n'ai un sou, et que ma santø, depuis quelque tems, a perdu beaucoup de la force. Je suppløe trøs humblement Votre Grandeur d'ajouter à tant de graces qu'elle m'a faites, celle de me continuer l'honneur de sa bienveillance et de sa protection . . . * 26)

The promised land had brought Des Maizeaux neither the opportunity nor the security for which he had hoped, and there is genuine distress behind this avowal to Shaftesbury. This rejection of pretence must have been a real humiliation, and moreover, he was faced by the inevitable difficulty which besets the needy and ambitious; in his situation, any

26) Public Record Office. Shaftesbury Papers. Series V. Bdle. 27. No. 17. DM. to Shaftesbury Aug. 12, 1701.

step forward towards a higher social environment only increased his hardships, by giving him more to live up to. Without reputation or money, his lot was harder than that of many of his fellow-refugees, who had at least the means of carrying on an honest trade. But from further letters written shortly afterwards, it seems that Shaftesbury responded by relieving his protégé's immediate needs - and Des Maizeaux continued to translate his patron's writings on virtue and merit 27).

The interest of this exchange of letters is twofold; in the first place it reveals Des Maizeaux's position as intermediary between those two outstanding figures Bayle and Shaftesbury, but more important than this, it shows that Des Maizeaux was unquestionably the first Frenchman to attempt the difficult task of translating Shaftesbury into his own language - and this as early as 1701, ten years before the first collected edition of the Characteristicks, and long before Shaftesbury's admission of authorship of any of the pieces. It will be observed that in these letters both men are careful to avoid naming the author of the Inquiry, and that while Shaftesbury amuses himself with a little game of bluff, the Frenchman goes so far as to criticize certain points of style in the original. Did he, one wonders, really not know that Shaftesbury was the author, or is this also a game

27) Public Record Office. Shaftesbury Papers. Series V. Bdle. 27, No. 17. see also Bdle 45. DM. to Shaftesbury, Sept. 25 and Sept. 29. 1701.

of bluff ? In that case, the situation appears even more piquant. On consideration, it seems incredible that Des Maizeaux was really ignorant of the authorship of the piece, but before this can be affirmed with any degree of certainty, it is as well to recall the circumstances in which Shaftesbury's first work saw the light - namely, that it was "pirated", in 1699, and by no other person than John Toland, who also subsequently received a small pension from the noble author, and who was one of the few people who could have penetrated Shaftesbury's secret. In the light of this, Des Maizeaux's encounter with Toland, just prior to his introduction to Shaftesbury, acquires a new significance; it is reasonable to suppose that it was Toland who first drew the Frenchman's attention to Shaftesbury, and that he may actually have suggested the translation as a means of obtaining patronage. It is just possible, though hardly likely that Shaftesbury commissioned a translation, but the refugee's constant talk of carrying out his protector's "orders" is probably nothing more than a piece of the general flattery with which he had to address Shaftesbury.

It must be admitted that Des Maizeaux's motives were mixed, but he must nevertheless be placed on record as the first translator of Shaftesbury, and perhaps as the real pioneer among Frenchmen, in the appreciation of that philosopher - for even Bayle, though he ^{knew} Shaftesbury, was at a

disadvantage in not understanding English. Unfortunately for Des Maizeaux's reputation, and perhaps for his material circumstances in the long run, Shaftesbury must be regarded as a lost opportunity. This translation was not completed, and the French public had no general access to the work until the publication of the version by Diderot, some 45 years later. How much of Virtue and Merit was thus translated is not certain, several instalments were sent to Shaftesbury, and "un petit accident" compelled Des Maizeaux to re-write some of it ²⁷⁾. Thereafter, the work seems to have been abandoned, although Des Maizeaux spoke of taking it up again in 1705 ²⁸⁾. It is curious to think that the publication in French of Shaftesbury's earliest work may have been retarded for nearly half a century through the upsetting of an ink-bottle. It is interesting to note, however, that fragments of this early attempt to translate Shaftesbury do actually exist among the Shaftesbury papers.

Apart from his personal stake in wishing to cultivate the patronage of the great man, (assuming that he was in the

27) Public Record Office. Shaftesbury Papers. Series V. Bdle. 27. No. 17. Dd. to Shaftesbury, Sept. 25 and Sept. 29. 1701.

28) Ibid.; Bdle. 27. Dd. to Shaftesbury. Feb. 10, 1705.

secret of Shaftesbury's authorship] Des Maizeaux must be credited with a real interest in the work itself, which is a landmark in the earlier stages of the English deistic controversy, through its examination of the whole question of religion and morality and their relationship, raised by what the author called "the freedom of some late pens". It is worth noting that in Des Maizeaux's draft, Shaftesbury's somewhat non-committal title is changed to the much blunter form of De la Vertue et de la Créance d'une Divinité. The Frenchman certainly appreciated the drift of his patron's discussion of the subject, and it is impossible not to believe that he was in complete sympathy with Shaftesbury's views in general 29).

29) So far as the writer is aware, the existence of this translation has never been pointed out, and it appears to have been overlooked even by M. E. Casati, in preparing his article on "Hérants et Commentateurs de Shaftesbury en France" (Revue de Litt. Comp. Vol. XIV. 1934, pp. 615-645) although he had had access to the Shaftesbury papers. The explanation appears to lie in the fact that DA's letters to Shaftesbury have not been published (except, as noted, for a few fragments printed by Dr. L. F. Courtney) while Shaftesbury's replies, which have, of course, been given side currency, do not mention the title of the work in question, and give no hint that it is by Shaftesbury himself; quite the reverse, in fact. Moreover, the authorship of the translation is not recognized by the compilers of the Historical MSS. Commission's reports on the Shaftesbury Papers, and the P.R.O. catalogue says of it merely that "on comparing this essay in French with 'An Inquiry concerning Vertue or Merit' ... it will be found that a large portion of one has been translated from the other."

The fragments in the Public Record Office consist of 12 folios, numbered 1 - 12 and 17 - 28. Apart from the

So much for the beginning of Des Maizeaux's acquaintance with Toland and Shaftesbury, one of the most significant events of his first years in England. In the meantime, he continued his correspondence with Bernard, reporting all the more important English publications, and sending copies of those most suitable for the characteristic abstracts, which made up most of the contents of the République des Lettres. This year probably saw him much in the society of St. Evremond and his friends, a group now consisting chiefly of other refugees such as Silvestre the physician, Le Fèvre, Coste, Abel Boyer of the Pot-Boy and others ³⁰⁾. It would

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29)(continued)

gap indicated here, it is probable that a good deal more was written and lost. Comparison of the handwriting with that of the letters establishes beyond doubt that it is the work of Des Maizeaux, and the evidence of the letters is also conclusive as regards the date of compilation.

The P.R.O. reference is. - Shaftesbury Papers Series V, B.D. 24. Bdle. 21. No.227.

30) See W. M. Daniel's St. Evremond en Angleterre, pp.60-68, and J. A. F. Puaux, "St. Evremond et les Réfugiés de la Révocation à Londres" in the Bulletin, Vol. 67, pp.184-208.

In fairness to DM., one may perhaps quote Puaux's remark :
"Il est intéressant de remarquer que St. Evremond, que la politique avait exilé de France, dut à des Français exilés pour cause de religion un service littéraire dont mieux que personne il aurait pu apprécier le rare mérite.

Silvestre was probably more disinterested than DM, but Puaux's estimate is substantially true of both, although a contemporary observer such as Marais inclined to a different view of DM's activities. On the whole, whatever the motives, DM's performance as St. Evremond's editor is highly creditable.

be idle to pretend that his attentions to St. Evremond were disinterested, any more than his cultivation of Shaftesbury, although he genuinely admired the talents and the philosophical outlook of the famous nonagenarian. The penniless adventurer obviously regarded the old man somewhat in the shape of a commercial proposition. St. Evremond's "works", genuine and otherwise, had been bandied about and exploited all over Europe, for years, until it was impossible to say what was authentic and what was not. Clearly the author had not long to live, and there was work here for an editor, perhaps even a reputation to be founded for a new Des Maizeaux - the friend, editor and literary executor of a famous literary figure, now becoming almost an institution. Indeed, there were distinct possibilities here, and Des Maizeaux was shrewd enough to take advantage of the opportunity this presented, and from which he probably derived a small income for the rest of his days. Whatever the motives, posterity certainly owes him a debt for establishing the authentic St. Evremond. This work, however, was to occupy several years, and 1701 saw only the beginning of it - the persistent argument by which St. Evremond, too much the gentleman to wish to be treated as a professional writer, or, in fact, as anything except a distinguished amateur, was at last persuaded to revise his manuscripts, and printed editions of his alleged works. Des Maizeaux was already in contact

with the piratical crew of booksellers in Holland, adopting a kind of proprietary attitude in negotiations concerning St. Evremond's works, and deciding between the genuine and the spurious, with of course, the approval of the author ³¹⁾. The letter was too old and indifferent to resist this polite pestering, and wrote : -

"Vous m'avez engagé à les corriger; et il y a trois mois que j'y travaille, sans avoir pu les ôter.
/error/ Je continuerai pourtant de les revoir, puisque cela vous fait plaisir." 32)

In these circumstances the aged exile is an object of sympathy, although it is only fair to add that he appears to have thought well of his persecutor, whose motives were not purely selfish. It is difficult, however, to refrain from smiling over the preface to the 1705 edition of St. Evremond which would have the reader believe that

"quoi que Monsieur de St. Evremond eût toujours refusé de publier ses Ecrits, il changea de sentiment quelque tems avant sa mort, et jetta les yeux sur Monsieur Des Maizeaux, pour le charger de ce soin." !

In December 1701, Des Maizeaux's father died, and he received the sad news from Avenches during the following January, made more bitter, perhaps, by the old pastor's last sentiments towards his son ³³⁾. This was a black moment

31) See Daniels *St Evremond en Angleterre*, pp 152-4.

32) St. Evremond to DM. printed in St. Evremond : Oeuvres. 1744 ed. Vol. V. p. 367.

33) MS. 4289/37-38. Marie Des Maizeaux to DM. Jan. 7, 1702. Louis Des Maizeaux died on Dec. 12, 1701 according to this letter, although another correspondent gives the

for the journalist, who could scarcely support himself and was certainly in no situation to help his family, or to return to Switzerland. Fortunately, his mother continued to receive a small pension as a refugee, and he himself stayed in England to hope for better days. There was was hard indeed for struggling men of letters, and unemployed scholars trying to keep up appearances. Des Maizeaux must sometimes have envied his compatriots with humbler pretensions and a more profitable skill. There was always the Church, of course, and now once more Des Maizeaux assured his mother that he had not given up the idea of entering the ministry - but now it would be as an Anglican ³⁴⁾. The truth of the matter was that he had obviously rejected long before this any serious intention of following his father's footsteps,

33) (continued).

date as Dec. 14. MS. 4283/239-240. All the essential facts concerning DM's relations with his mother are contained in her letters, 25 in all, MS. 4289/37 etc. Among those through whom Des Maizeaux helped his mother were the diplomat Abraham Stanyan, and Jean Barbeyrac. DM's conduct is not entirely above reproach at times, but in this respect a friend in Avenches could write, during his mother's last years :

"Elle souhaite que vous appreniez qu'elle se sent fort consolée dans sa vieillesse, d'avoir en votre personne une aide et un secours si agréable, qui, quoique éloigné, lui procure tout ce dont elle a besoin."

MS. 4283/237-8. Fornalla to DM. April 19, 1723.

34) MS. 4289/39-40. Marie Des Maizeaux to DM. April 4,
1702.

and he is perhaps to be respected for his decision, which was largely taken, in all probability, before he left Geneva. He was at least honest enough to turn his back on a way of life for which he had no vocation, and inadequate faith, preferring near-starvation as a man of letters, but hoping, naturally, for an opportunity to succeed. Meanwhile he was just contriving to subsist and keep up the contacts he had made, but it is by no means clear how he was supporting himself. In one letter, his mother urged him to seek help from relatives in France and England, but he appears to have been disinclined to have any dealings with his family, except his mother, whom he never saw again, although she lived until 1726. Even she sometimes went without news of him for two years or more, although it is to Des Maizeaux's credit that her own appeals for help, becoming more frequent as her meagre pension began to be paid less regularly, never went unheeded. Yet there were times when he must have had difficulty in raising even the smallest sum to send to Switzerland. It is a sorry story of the real sufferings of one family among the thousands of victims of the Revocation, especially of that class which had no commercial assets or industrial skill.

It was at about this time that Des Maizeaux was forced to seek another post, having failed to establish himself as a freelance writer or journalist. This time he was rescued by a family which he had already encountered among the friends of Sloane and Killigrew - that of Dr. Peter Barwick, the old

court physician, now an octogenarian and blind, long retired from practice, and living quietly among a small circle of friends, dividing his time between Dover Street, and another house of his in Kensington. The domestic circle was completed by Barwick's son-in-law Sir Ralph Dutton, of Sherborne Manor, and his son and daughters. Des Haizeaux's exact position in this household is not very clear; he may have acted as tutor to the children of the baronet, although the son, later Sir John Dutton, and Des Haizeaux's constant friend, was already about twenty. On the other hand, he appears to have been employed by Barwick, rather than by Dutton. In his petition for a pension some years later, he does not admit to having been employed as anything but a tutor, but a letter to Shaftesbury suggests that he was really Barwick's personal servant ³⁵⁾. He lived with this family until the death of the old doctor in September 1705, and possibly for some time afterwards. In 1703 there was some talk of his applying for the post of tutor to Lord Buckhurst, son of the Earl of Dorset, on the recommendation of Shaftesbury, but nothing came of this, and he continued to live with Barwick ³⁶⁾. Whatever his duties, he seems to have been

35) Public Record Office. Shaftesbury Papers Series V. Bdle. 27. DM. to Shaftesbury Feb. 10. 1705.

36) Shaftesbury to DM. Nov. 2. 1703 in reply to a lost letter: "I perceive you have not done anything further in the Affair of Id. Buckhurst, my Lord Dorset's Son. But whether you think fitt to solicit that Buisness or no, I could wish you to remember wayting on Mr. Lundy....."

not altogether unhappy, and to have gained the affection of the family. So he became a little more philosophical, and could reassure his mother as to his "bon état".

Not unnaturally, this new situation brought a lessening of Des Maizeaux's literary activity. He continued to act as intermediary between Bayle, in Holland, and Shaftesbury and St. Evremond in England, enjoying for some time the distinction of being the direct link between these three famous figures. St. Evremond was still his main preoccupation, and this association must be considered as another powerful influence in the young exile's life. Although such an old man, St. Evremond still had his wits about him, and must certainly have given to Des Maizeaux a broader outlook, especially with regard to literature, including, to a limited extent, English literature properly speaking. Des Maizeaux's earlier training was not exactly calculated to develop a passionate appreciation of belles-lettres, and there are indications that such appreciation as Des Maizeaux showed later was in large measure owing to St. Evremond. Apart from this, the friendship of the latter could hardly fail to have repercussions on Des Maizeaux's attitude towards religion and philosophy. If he did not influence the younger man in the direction of open scepticism, he certainly

36) (contd.)

B. Rand, Life, Letters etc. of Shaftesbury. P. 313.

The original is MS. 4288/100.

helped to strengthen his opposition to fanaticism and intolerance. It was probably during 1702 that Des Maizeaux lent the old man a copy of Bayle's dictionary, which met with considerable approval, and drew the following comments in a letter to Des Maizeaux :

"Mais n'est-ce pas aller contre l'ordre de cette Providence, que de se persécuter de la manière du monde la plus barbare, parce qu'on n'a pas les mêmes sentimens sur la Religion ? Comme si la persuasion pouvoit s'étendre au delà des lumières; et qu'il dépendit de nous, de croire ce que nous voulons. Cependant tous ces maux ne finiront point que l'on ne redonne à la Religion les anciens droits qu'elle avoit sur notre coeur.

An lieu de disputer toujours sur la créance
Par trop d'attachement à son opinion;
Regardons comme on vit, sans chercher comme on pense.
Et dans le bien qu'on fait trouvons notre union." 37)

Here, briefly, is the key to the influence which the teaching of St. Evremont exerted on the young journalist, and the pattern of Des Maizeaux's after life shows that the words did not fall on stony ground.

In January 1702, if not sooner, Des Maizeaux had also begun his career as a disseminator of Bayle's thought and work in England, in a practical way, as Bayle's agent in negotiations with Jacob Tonson the elder, over the proposed publication of the Dictionary in English 38). Whether this undertaking owed anything to Des Maizeaux in the first place is doubtful. Tonson's privilege for the work is dated

37) St. Evremont to DM. probably 1702. Printed in
St. Evremont : Oeuvres. 1740 ed. pp. 383-7.

38) Bayle : Letters. 1729. No.226. Bayle to DM. Jan.27. 1702

April 1701, some time before any reference to it in Bayle's letters to Des Maizeaux. On the other hand, he probably knew Tonson at that time, and certainly had dealings with the Churchill brothers, who were also backers of the edition. This affair of the Dictionary was possibly the beginning of Des Maizeaux's long activity as a literary agent, to which his correspondence bears such abundant testimony.

Apart from the period spent at Shoreham, his acquaintance with England had so far been confined to London and its environs; now, however, his association with the Dutton family brought him an opportunity to visit Sherborne and, more important, Oxford. His interest in that city may well be imagined, combining the curiosity of the foreign observer with the passion of the bibliophile and scholar. He was certainly there in 1703, and possibly paid an earlier visit; it was in 1703 that he came to know Dr. Hudson, at that time Bodley's Librarian. As a result of this meeting, there is the interesting spectacle of Bayle acting with Des Maizeaux and the publisher Leers, to try to arrange an exchange of books for duplicate copies in the Bodleian - a characteristic and interesting example of the type of dealing which was already going on between England and the continent ³⁹⁾. But even before this time, Des Maizeaux must have interested

39) Bayle : Letters. 1729. No. 248. Bayle to DM. Nov. 9, 1703.

himself in the treasures of the Bodleian, for one day as he was in the company of St. Evremond, the conversation turned upon the Roman de la Rose, and the identity of its author. St. Evremond, who appears to have been, like many of his generation, rather ignorant of the older literature of France, was interested by the younger man's remarks, and asked for more. In response Des Maizeaux composed a short account of the poem, subsequently printed with St. Evremond's works, which shows that he had examined a manuscript of it in Oxford, and copied part of it. There are numerous indications of Des Maizeaux's curiosity regarding French literature of the 16th century and the Middle Ages, and an appreciation of it which is something of a distinction in the age of Boileau. So real, indeed, was this interest, that for years he tried to bring about the re-publication of Pathelin, eliciting from Bayle the admission that he had never read it, and from Abbé Bignon some rather caustic remarks about "ce misérable Livret" ⁴⁰⁾. It is this kind of thing which reveals Des Maizeaux as an intelligent and unusually well-read man, and much more than a mere scribbler.

During the course of his peregrinations, he had not neglected the question of publishing the complete works of St. Evremond, and throughout 1702 and 1703 negotiations were

40) Bayle : Letters, No. 246. Bayle to DM. Feb. 13, 1703.

Bayle did not consider Pathelin a paying proposition - as, indeed, it would not have been.

Bignon thought that it "n'est guere recommandable que

continuing for an edition in Holland. Des Maizeaux probably hoped to gain complete control of the manuscripts, but if this was so, he was disappointed in his project, perhaps because he could not devote all his time and attention to the matter. During the summer of 1703 he was, to quote his Life of St. Evremond, "obligé d'aller passer deux ou trois mois à la Campagne"; that is to say, that he was in attendance on the Barwick-Dutton household down in Gloucestershire. So it came about that he was at herborne during the September; when St. Evremond inconsiderately died at last, in peace. Moreover, on his death it was Silvestre who received most of the manuscripts, while to "Mr. de Meseau" St. Evremond left £30

"pour les volumes qu'il m'a fournis ou pour les transactions littéraires pendantes entre nous" 41).

One suspects that Des Maizeaux was considerably annoyed by these arrangements, which undermined his hoped-for position

40) (contd.)

par ce qu'il est un des plus anciens monuments de notre Langue." MS. 4281/208-9. Dec. 19, 1710.

In a letter of July 11, 1711 Bignon writes: "Je suis bien aise que A. Duchat se soit chargé d'une nouvelle édition de la farce de Patelin. Les curieux de ces pièces antiques vous en sauront bon gré de la leur avoir procurée." MS. 4281/218/19. Le Duchat does not, however, appear to have carried out this project.

41) Daniels, St. Evremond en Angleterre. p. 150.

as the sole proprietor of St. Evremond's works. Now Silvestre was involved also, and considered it his duty to supervise the publication of the authentic manuscripts in his possession. Here were the makings of an unedifying competition, but the obvious solution was finally agreed to, through the tactful intervention of St. Evremond's executor, Lord Galloway, and Des Maizeaux and Silvestre undertook to prepare jointly a fine edition of the works. This was the one published by Jacob Tonson in 1705. The work was done conscientiously, manuscripts being borrowed from such people as Godolphin, and the result was generally considered a masterpiece of book-production, of which the editors could be justly proud. Des Maizeaux's copy of the contract still exists, by which Tonson took half the profits and the two exiles a quarter each ⁴²⁾. Silvestre seems to have got most of the nominal credit, in addition, which must have seemed a little unfair to his colleague, who had, after all, initiated the whole affair and obtained the co-operation of St. Evremond before his death. The Tonson edition, therefore, only half-satisfied Des Maizeaux's ambition, and worse still, it meant trouble in Holland, for if Jacob Tonson was a publisher of exceptional merit, Des Maizeaux's negotiations in Holland had embroiled him with one of a different kind, by name Pierre Mortier. The

42) MS. 4289/91. The agreement was dated March 9, 1703
(1704?)

latter's principal attribute was a crass and brutal materialism, and he was not sweetened by his displeasure at finding himself in competition with Tonson in the publication of St. Evremond, although he could not accuse Des Maizeaux of bad faith. During the three years following St. Evremond's death, there was a steady flow of arguments and recriminations, delays and confusions, which left Des Maizeaux without much compunction in his subsequent dealings with the Dutch booksellers. Tonson was first in the field, but the Dutch edition of 1706 included a Mélange Curieux of miscellaneous pieces, some of which had been attributed to St. Evremond, and Des Maizeaux's Life, his first biography. Mortier's parting shot at Des Maizeaux, scrawled on a letter from De la Motte, abused him generally for his delays

"Je m'en souviendray long temps d'avoir eu affaire
à M. des Maizeaux. Dieu me garde à l'advenir des
pareilles auteurs capable (sic) à mettre les
Libraires à l'Hospital." 43)

It is probable that both Des Maizeaux and De la Motte, who bore the brunt of the storms, felt some slight consolation on the occasion of Mortier's premature death in 1711, at the height of his undeserved prosperity. As De la Motte expressed it during the bookseller's fatal illness -

"à mon avis, il est mieux dans ce monde qu'il ne
sera dans l'autre!" 44)

43) MS. 4286/36-37. De la Motte and Mortier to DM. Jan. 1706

44) MS. 4286/130. De la Motte to DM. Feb. 10. 1711.

There is not much to say of the Vie de St. Evremond as it appeared in 1706. Planned to accompany his works, it is very brief, giving a plain biographical account, not too defaced by the deferential mannerisms of contemporary style, and because of its author's personal association with the subject, it remains a valuable primary source of information. Des Maizeaux's aim was to "joindre l'homme de guerre au bel-esprit", but the most interesting passages are perhaps those which deal with St. Evremond's attitude towards religion.

In this respect Des Maizeaux skates delicately over some very thin ice, and his defence of the Epicurean, if such it could be called, against accusations of scepticism, is couched in terms which strengthen rather than weaken their grounds. The writer undoubtedly had his tongue in his cheek it was said, for example, that on his death-bed the old man had rejected the offices of priests, but as to that, of course. Des Maizeaux could not speak personally - he had been in the country at the time! One is left with the impression that not only was St. Evremond unquestionably an esprit-fort - but that Des Maizeaux privately endorsed his feelings, - as no doubt he did. Des Maizeaux also reveals his own ideas, to some extent, in his account of St. Evremond's doubts of the utility of philosophical speculation, particularly as practised by Gassendi and Descartes. A remark concerning "les spéculations creuses et stériles de la Philosophie" may

be considered to confirm previous manifestations of Des Maizeaux's own attitude, for he had already come into the open as an opponent of the Cartesian mentality, in the pages of Bernard's République des Lettres 45).

The life of St. Evremond the Epicurean was addressed not inappropriately to Bayle the Pyrrhonian, and the philosopher of Rotterdam responded in the warmest terms, on being presented with a copy of the St. Evremond edition and the 'Mélange' :

"Je ne puis vous marquer toute ma reconnoissance de deux si beau présens; et sur tout, de l'honneur que vous m'avez fait, en m'adressant la Vie de Monsieur de Saint-Evremond; sans compter tant d'endroits répandus par-ci, par-là, où vous m'avez donné des marques si expresses de votre bonté obligeante. Je ne me sens plus philosophe; je goute avec toute la sensibilité de la nature humaine la gloire qui me vient de là, et je brûle d'envie de vous témoigner ma gratitude" 46)

Before leaving the subject of St. Evremond 47), one

45) DM. was involved in a controversy with Isaac Jaquelot and others, in the N.R.L., and other journals from 1700 to 1702. See Chapter IV.

46) Bayle, Letters. 1729. No. 276. Bayle to DM. Jan. 19. 1706.

47) Attention is drawn to Appendix I, listing the miscellaneous MS. material which the writer has unearthed in the British Museum, especially Add. MSS. 4272 and 4470. These include transcriptions for the St. Evremond editions, and drafts of parts of the Life.

other attendant circumstance should be mentioned - namely that it was the search for material for the Life, extending to Huet and the aged Minon de L'Enclos, which appears to have led Des Maizeaux to initiate a correspondence direct with France, which brought him into contact with the editors of the Journal des Savants and was to develop into a regular association with that famous periodical.

The year 1706, which saw the culmination of Des Maizeaux's work as editor of St. Evremond, also brought in its last month the death of Bayle, and the conclusion of that highly valued correspondence which had done much to confirm and strengthen the enthusiasm of the young disciple. This event may be said to mark the close of the introductory phase of Des Maizeaux's life in England, during which the main influences upon him were still predominantly French, or, to be more exact, those of Frenchmen in exile. It is thus a convenient point to pause, before going on to trace the new orientation of the next stage of his career.

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Chapter III.

THE SOCIAL CLIMBER.

The death of Bayle marks a stage in the history of Des Maizeaux when the principal emphasis must continue to be placed on biographical rather than on literary aspects. This is natural enough because he was, after all, making what was virtually a new beginning in life, and undergoing a second formative period, succeeding his youth spent in France and Switzerland. It is by no means certain that he finally decided to make England his permanent home until about 1708, by which time he must have seen greater hopes of future security in doing so. During what may be called the St. Evremond period, he became solidly established with Sarwick and his family, and his uneventful life enabled him to work steadily on the St. Evremond editions, while keeping up his correspondence with the journalists of Holland. But changes were on the way; Shaftesbury, his sheet-anchor, was in Holland during most of 1703 and 1704, and now that death had broken up St. Evremond's circle, it is not surprising to find Des Maizeaux gradually forming new associations among Englishmen of literary interests, although most of his leisure was still spent in the company of fellow-exiles such as Coste, and the mathematician Abraham de Moivre. There was a renewal of contact with Toland, now returned

from his foreign wanderings, and a statement by Des Maizeaux himself points to 1703 as the year in which he first became friendly with a third famous figure among the English deists - Anthony Collins ¹⁾. This, the most interesting of all his associations, was almost certainly brought about through Coste with his close ties with Locke, whose fervent disciple Collins also became at about this time ²⁾. There is no evidence as to the degree of intimacy existing between Collins and Des Maizeaux during these early years, and it should not be exaggerated. The latter probably visited Collins occasionally at his chambers in Lincoln's Inn Square, but since Collins liked to spend his summers in the country, the friendship was then probably not closer than many others formed by the Frenchman.

As for life in the Barwick household, it was not disagreeable, but was subject to uncertainties, which were beginning

- 1) MS. 4282/245/6. Draft letter from DM. to an unnamed correspondent. Jan. 6. 1730. Writing after Collins' death, he speaks of him as having been his friend for 26 years.
- 2) MS. 4282/242-3. Notes by DM. for a biography of Collins. They refer to Collins making Locke's acquaintance at "Mr. Churchill's" (the publisher) during the 1690's, but the letters of Locke to Collins published later by Collins and DM., begin only in 1703, when Collins visited Oates. Coste had, of course, long been known to Locke.

to look ahead in a somewhat distracting manner. The situation is pleasantly expressed in a letter from Des Maizeaux to Shaftesbury, which is worthy of quotation both as a masterly example of the delicate 18th century begging-letter, and for a certain wry humour in its érénnéal self-revelation.

"Comme vous avez eu la bonté, Mylord, de prendre part à ce qui me regardoit, je prendrai ici la liberté de vous dire que je suis toujours chez Mr. le Docteur Barwick, qui s'est retiré ici avec sa Famille. C'est une Place qui n'est rien moins que lucrative; mais elle est douce, et d'ailleurs j'y suis très agréablement puisque j'y jouis d'une Liberté honnête, et qu'on m'y fait l'honneur de m'aimer. Le Mal qu'il y a, c'est qu'elle ne saura durer tout au plus que jusqu'à la Mort de Monsieur le Docteur Barwick, et qu'il a quatre-vingt sept Ans. Cela m'engage quelquefois dans des Réflexions assez tristes. Quand je considère que je ne suis plus jeune, que ma Santé est chancelante; que je n'ai jamais été en état de rien amasser; que je vis comme les Ciseaux des Champs, du jour à la journée; et qu'enfin je ne saurois m'assurer d'aucune ressource; quand je considère, dis-je, toutes ces Choses, je passe de cruels momens. Cependant, ce qui me console, c'est que je ne me sens point de vaine Ambition; et si jamais je puis trouver Victum et Amictum assurés pour toute ma vie, je la passerai tranquillement en Philosophe; et m'estimerai plus heureux que tous les Rois du Monde. Je connois des Gens qui possèdent beaucoup et qui ne jouissent de rien. Ils croient n'avoir jamais assez, et le véritable Bonheur ne consiste qu'à savoir se contenter du Nécessaire

Mais je ne m'aperçois que c'est envoyer de l'eau à la Mer, que d'écrire des Réflexions à Votre Grandeur. Je vous envoie le dernier Volume du Journal de Mr. Le Clerc. Vous y trouverez un Morceau de la Vie d'Erasme qui est assez curieux. On y voit qu'Erasme n'étoit pas exempt du Sort ordinaire des gens de Lettres, d'être geux. Il n'étoit pourtant pas à plaindre; la Nature avoit suffisamment compensé cet inconvénient, en lui donnant l'avantage d'un Génie propre à pouvoir mendier hardiment et sans honte. Il n'y a que les Pauvres honteux qui soient véritablement à plaindre."

After mentioning the desire to take up again the Virtue or Merit translation, the letter concludes with another appeal for the continuation of Shaftesbury's protection.

"Ajoutez, Mylord, à toutes les graces que vous m'avez faites, celle de me continuer l'honneur de votre Protection et de votre Bienveillance. C'est le seul Bien réel, sur lequel je puisse compter en ce Monde. Ad Te tamquam ad sacrum Anchoram confugiam; et j'ose espérer que vous n'abandonnerez point à sa malheureuse Etoile, la Personne du Monde qui est avec le plus de respect, de Vénération et de Reconnoissance

De Votre Grandeur etc. " 3)

There was a certain artistry in Des Maizeaux's approaches to his patron which deserved success, and as usual Shaftesbury replied in an encouraging manner; although a fit of economy was at this time setting limits to the practical expression of his benevolence.

"You your self may depend on my kindness and continuance of Friendship to you; tho' being kept as I am out of ye World and Buisness, I am sorry yt I cannot be a compleat assistant to you in the securing your Fortune and getting you such Preferment as you deserve. However my small Assistance shall never be wanting to you with hearty good Will, believing you true to those honest and just Principles you profess."

Indeed, Des Maizeaux's philosophical attitude was genuine enough, although not so passive as he would wish to suggest. Once more, Shaftesbury urged him to continue the translation

"but desiring with all that my Name may not be us'd by you as meddling in these affairs, for I am enough spoke of and quoted for a Dealer in this kind; and as said

3). Public Record Office. Shaftesbury Papers Series V.
Bdle. 27. DM. to Shaftesbury. Feb. 10. 1705.

very often to be the Publisher or Author of Things I have neither any hand in nor knowledge of." 4)

But again, Des Maizeaux let the opportunity slip, and no more is heard of the project.

It was now 1705, Tonson's St. Evremond had appeared, and the refugee was living his accustomed life, passing his leisure-hours among his friends at the tables of the coffee-houses. The expected change, however, was soon to come, for on September 4th Dr. Barwick died at last, after an illness which had prevented Des Maizeaux from working on his life of St. Evremond, and so provoked a good deal of trouble from the uncouth Mortier 5). Once more he was cast upon the world after a few years of relative security, albeit in a humble way, and must seek employment again, although he retained the friendship of the Dutton family. It is possible that Anthony Collins helped him during the ensuing winter 6),

4) MS. 4288/95-6. Shaftesbury to DM. Feb. 17. 1705.

5) See letters of De la Motte for this period. MS. 4286/31 etc.

6) MS. 4283/71. A letter from the publisher Desbordes to DM. Jan. 12. 1706 appears to be redirected to "Mr. Collins at Sir Francis Child at Temple Bar". Child, a banker and sometime Lord Mayor and M. P. was the father of Collins' first wife. DM. may have been staying there at this time.

but in the meantime Des Maizeaux had made a new friend. During the November following Barwick's death, he asked De la Motte, in Amsterdam, to send some French journals to a Mr. Addison. Was this, his correspondent enquired, the Mr. Addison who had been in Holland a year or two previously, and was much esteemed by Mr. Le Clerc and others ? ⁷⁾ It was indeed. After his return to England, in 1703, from his continental travels, Joseph Addison had begun to appear as a rising man; he was a member of the Kit-Cat Club, and in high favour with the Whigs, as the author of The Campaign. For want of more precise evidence, it must be assumed that Des Maizeaux came to know him in 1705, possibly through Shaftesbury. For the Frenchman, Addison could, and did prove a valuable friend, and from the time of their first acquaintance Des Maizeaux began to move steadily into closer contact with political as well as literary society. An immediate result of Addison's goodwill may perhaps be seen in Des Maizeaux's next employment, although the connection is somewhat vague. This probably began in the spring of 1706, and took the form of a tutorial post in the household of a certain Reynolds Calthorpe, who represented the Wiltshire borough of Hindon in various parliaments from 1698 to 1715. Calthorpe's town-house was in St. James's Place, where Addison also lived for a time, and he had a country estate at Elvetham, near

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7) MS. 4286/32 and 35. De la Motte to DM. Nov.27, and Dec.8, 1705.

Odiham. It was presumably to Calthorpe's son that Des Maizeaux was made preceptor, a boy of about 17, and probably in poor health, since he died at the age of 25, after succeeding his father in Parliament ⁸⁾.

Des Maizeaux stayed with this family for about two years, and spent the summer months of 1706 at their estate in Hampshire; this was at least a change from the centre of London and the society of fellow-refugees and men of letters, who were still his chosen companions. There is a good indication of Des Maizeaux's life at this time, in a letter written to him by a friend during his stay at Elvetham, in which his absence is lamented.

"Il m'est arrivé plus d'une fois de vous souhaiter de retour ici, où depuis votre départ il me semble que tout languit. Plus de cabaret; Plus de joie; Plus de ces conversations dégagées de tous préjugés, où nous nous abandonnions quelquefois lorsque vous étiez parmi nous. Notre petite Société a perdu en vous le lien qui nous unissoit, et jusqu'à ce que vous reveniez, je la regarde comme dissipée et comme rompue. Le seul moment de véritable plaisir que je sache avoir goûté depuis que vous avez quitté Londres, c'est une soirée que je passai il y a quelque tems avec Messieurs de Moivre et Coste Je suis ravi que vous ayez lié commerce avec un aussi galant homme qu'Horace; c'est un des XX mes esprits du premier

8) The son was also named Reynolds Calthorpe. The family was a distinguished one, descended from two Cromwellian knights, but M. himself makes no reference to them in any of his papers. The chief evidence for the connection consists of addresses on his letters, and the letter from Loggan, which also provides the link with Addison.

ordre, avec lequel en se divertissant, on peut s' instruire beaucoup. Quand vous serez ici je consens de tout mon coeur que nous lisions ses écrits ensemble, à condition que vous ne nous cacherez point les réflexions et les remarques que vous faites sur cet incomparable auteur." 9)

It appears from this that Des Maizeaux had already acquired the status of a central figure of the literary reunions of the refugees, if not, indeed, their very life and soul.

During his visit to Hampshire, he gained for a time, at least, yet another small circle of friends, which contributed something to the development of his ties with Oxford. The connection of this group with Addison is pointed out by a letter to Des Maizeaux from John Loggan, a contemporary of Addison's at Magdalen, like Addison a "demy", and at this period a Fellow of his college. It was not, however, in that capacity that Des Maizeaux made his acquaintance, but because he happened also to be Rector of Elvetham 10).

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9) MS. 4283/37-8. June 8, 1706. The writer is one Pierre Daval, who cannot be identified positively; there were a number of refugee families of that name. This letter is quoted by Sayous in Le 18e Siècle à l'Etranger. I.15-17, although he misapplies it to the period of the gatherings at the Rainbow Coffee House, which was much later.

10) Loggan was the son of David Loggan, artist and engraver, who was born in Danzig. This friendship may account partly for DM's interest in Anthony à Wood, for whose Antiquities of the University of Oxford David Loggan prepared engravings.

"Mag. Coll. Feb. ye 16 (1707)

"Dear Demaizeux, Since Geneva and Oxford write so friendly to each other, why should not we ? I had not stood so long upon compliments, if any thing had offer'd itself in this place worth communicating. Tho' (as our friend Jack Woodford lazily observes) I had rather ride forty miles than write half so many lines. Hugo Boulter and Harry Stephens greet you well, and toast you of ten, and I am afraid I shall be troubled again with their company this summer upon your account. I despair of drinking a bottle with you at London this winter, but I hope we shall meet within this quarter of an year at an half-way house call'd ye White Hart at Hartford-Bridge; in the meantime give my service to Honest Watts. Tell her I am both in love and charity with her, and that it is not a box, tho' t'were of ye ear, that shall part us. Mr. Harvey is much yours, he is without a compliment the brightest of all my youths, and will be as great a credit to ye College, as your Pupill will be to you and his family. A line or 2 at your leisure will be very acceptable to

Yr. sincere friend and Humble Servant

Jack Loggan.

My service to Honest Jo. Addison when you see him." 11)

Evidently the Frenchman found light-hearted society in the country as well as in London; the identity of the frolicsome "honest Watts" remains a mystery, but the other mutual friends referred to by Loggan, were all Oxford men. The only

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11) MS. 4284/249-250. DM. must have met Loggan and his friends in Hampshire rather than at Oxford. Hartford-bridge, mentioned in the letter, is close to Elvetham. Loggan evidently expected that DM. would be at Elvetham again for the summer of 1707, but there is no evidence of a second visit. The lazy Jack Woodford was another Hampshire parson, and brother of Loggan's predecessor in the rectory of Elvetham. DM. seems to have come upon a group of characteristic 18th century country clergymen, who, if they did not live a particularly good life, at least lived well.

one of real interest is "Hugo Boulter", and he was none other than the Hugh Boulter who in 1724 was nominated to the See of Armagh, and the Primacy of Ireland. Many years later, when Des Maizeaux was overtaken by old age, and in difficulties over his pension, it was Boulter who helped to put matters right. These two letters help to illustrate the conflicting elements of Des Maizeaux's life at this period, when he was being drawn towards a purely English way of life, without being able to renounce those French influences which had coloured all his early years. Broadly speaking, this remained Des Maizeaux's position for the rest of his days, and there is no point in being contemptuous about it, as is Isaac D'Israeli ¹²⁾. It was all, no doubt, a curious experience for the Frenchman, and the changes he had known since his early youth in Laallat, would give him much on which to ruminate.

In view of the undeniable dullness of most of Des Maizeaux's writings, it is curious to note the contrast in his actual personality, his conviviality and evident capacity for making friends and creating a good impression. This was a valuable asset in one destined to an active rôle as a literary agent, and it suggests that his influence in that direction extended far beyond the limits of documentary proof. As yet, however, he could scarcely claim to be a literary

12) Curiosities of Literature, 12th edition, pp.378-9.
"Our author had come over in that tender state of youth, just in time to become half an Englishman."

figure of any sort, or indeed, anything more than one of many French tutors in England, and worse off than many of them. However, he was now known as the editor of St. Evremond, and the friendship of Addison was another step in the right direction, leading him into the heart of literary London as not even the patronage of Shaftesbury could have done. The acquaintance with Addison implies almost automatically that Des Maizeaux knew Steele also, and there are in fact a number of references to the Frenchman in Steele's letters to his "Prue". As might perhaps be expected, they suggest that Des Maizeaux was, if anything, on more familiar terms with Steele than with Addison, a circumstance which is probably accounted for by the more expansive nature of the former. With Addison, on the other hand, there is always an impression of primness and reserve, and Des Maizeaux seems to have regarded him as a patron, not without reason. Steele was on visiting terms at this period or a little later; an undated note to his wife runs

"Dear Prue, I will be at Desmazeaux, and if you will spend the Evening with me please call on me at the Corner of Snt. James's Place and I'll go with you." 13)

Des Maizeaux was thus becoming accepted in English literary life, but there is no outstanding event to record during his employment in the Calthorpe household. His health, however, which had troubled him at intervals since his arrival in England, now began to deteriorate, and the end

13) Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 5145 c./27.

of his employment was marked, and perhaps brought about, by a breakdown which ultimately caused him to leave London during the summer and autumn of 1708, to take the waters at Bath ¹⁴⁾. But shortly before this, he had come to a decision about his future, and followed the example of thousands of his fellow-exiles in applying for naturalization. From March 20, 1708, therefore, he is technically to be regarded as an Englishman, although the activities of Peter Des Maizeaux did not differ greatly from those of Pierre ¹⁵⁾. This step must clearly bear some relation to the circumstances in which he then found himself, and have held out some hopes of profit to him. There seem to be two possible explanations for choosing this time after a delay of nine years; either he had a prospect of obtaining some sort of official post, through his association with Addison, and the latter's chief Sunderland, or the state of his health had so depressed him, that he saw only one way of securing the modest sufficiency, the victum and amictum of which he had written to Shaftesbury; namely, by petitioning for a pension. Naturalization would be an obvious first step in either case, and either interpretation is supported by subsequent events.

14) He must have spent about 4 months at Bath on this occasion.

15) Naturalization Act 6 and 7, Anne. No.43; it received the Royal Assent on March 20, 1708. DM. appears as "Peter Des Maizeaux, son of Lewis Des Maizeaux, by Magdaline his wife, born at Paillat in the Province of Auvergne in France." The name Peter, de Maizeaux also

It was on August 20th, 1708, that Steele wrote in a postscript to one of his innumerable notes to his wife that "Desmaizeaux is gone to the Bath for his Health" 16).

A little before this, however, a book appeared which, since it must be ascribed to Des Maizeaux, draws attention once more to his literary activity. It was published anonymously, and as the authorship has been queried, it is necessary to examine the available evidence concerning its composition. The work in question is a life of Bayle, published in English with a translation of the Pensées sur la Comète, and entitled "The Life of Mr. Bayle in a letter to a peer of Gt. Britain". The peer was unquestionably Shaftesbury, and there is little doubt that the account was written to fulfil its author's obligations to a dead hero and a living patron. For some reason, Des Maizeaux would never give a complete admission of authorship, and Dr. L. P. Courtine is

" - inclined to ascribe the Life to Earnage, who is just as likely to have been introduced to Shaftesbury by Bayle and who seems here to be replying to Shaftesbury's remarkable eulogy of his departed friend Bayle" 17).

Dr. Courtine offers no documentary proof to support his belief, however, and it will scarcely withstand the evidence

15) (contd.)

occurs among the Oath Roll Naturalizations in 1710. See Publications of the Huguenot Society of London Vol. XXVII pp. 62 and 9

16) Aitken, Life of Steele. I.p. 219.

17) Bayle's Relations with England and the English. p. 136.

that can be brought against it. Internal evidence alone points fairly clearly to Des Maizeaux as the author, for the work may well be considered as a first short draft of the later Life of Bayle in French, published in 1730, for which Des Maizeaux is best remembered. There is the same strong bias against Jurieu, the same preoccupation with the vexed question of the Avis aux Réfugiés, and a blunt defence of Bayle's alleged "Pyrrhonism", of which it declares unequivocally :

"This kind of Pyrrhonism is the perfection of the Human Understanding."

The chief difference is the absence of the footnotes and critical apparatus of the later French biography. As to other evidence, Dr. Courtines might indeed have quoted some prefatory remarks from "the Publisher to the Reader" to the effect that

"the following Account of Mr. Bayle's Life being sent from beyond Sea to a British Peer, was communicated to me by a Gentleman who had the opportunity of taking a Copy of it."

This could conceivably form the basis of a theory that Basnage wrote it and that Des Maizeaux pirated it, but it happens that Basnage was actually advising Des Maizeaux concerning a life of Bayle at this period ¹⁸⁾. In any case, Dr. Courtine's theory overlooks a letter from

18) MS. 4281/43 - 46. Basnage to D^r. Aug. 7. 1708 and an undated letter.

Cheftesbury to Des Maizeaux in which the nobleman says :

"I forgot when I saw you last to joyn a small present with my Thanks to you for yr Life of Monsr. Bayl, as I had intented in his behalf; for whose Memory's sake and your own Merit I shall be allways ready to do you any Service yt lyes in my power." 19)

This appears to settle the matter beyond reasonable doubt, although it is true that there was talk of a life of Bayle in preparation in Holland, and rumour attributed it to Basnage. In fact, such were the misunderstandings, that in 1709 Des Maizeaux himself suspected Basnage of trying to pirate a translation of his Life, and received a denial of this from Basnage, more in sorrow than anger 20). It may be observed also that De la Motte reported a rumour that the English Life was by Anthony Collins 21) - an interesting indication of how Collins and Des Maizeaux must already have been linked in the public mind. The clearest statement on the matter by Des Maizeaux himself occurs in a letter published in the Journal des Savants, in which he denies that he wrote the work as it was published, but admits having composed "une espèce d'histoire suivie" for "une personne de qualité". According to him

"On avoit alors commencé d'imprimer la Traduction Anglaise des Pensées diverses sur la Comète; et le Libraire ayant trouvé moyen d'avoir une copie du Manuscrit dont j'ay parlé, il la fit traduire et l'ajouta au second Tome . . . "

19) MS. 4288/102. No date, but probably written in 1707.

20) MS. 4281/47-8. Basnage to DM. May 22, 1709.

21) MS. 4286/69. De la Motte to DM. Oct. 2. 1708.

He declines to acknowledge the work as his own, adding :

"Ce n'est qu'une traduction, et une traduction pleine de gallicismes" 22).

There are further references to this Life of Bayle in the Nouvelles littéraires of both the Journal des Savants and Bernards République des Lettres, all of them of a most vague and contradictory nature, partly approving and partly critical 23). Moreover, Des Maizeaux kept up the mystery, for in 1710 Matthieu Marais is to be found unburdening himself to his friend Mme. de Mérignac in his usual vitriolic manner, apropos of Des Maizeaux and explanations of the famous Life of Bayle, now becoming something of a joke.

"Il est malade, il ne sait quand il travaillera; tantôt l'ouvrage Anglois a été tiré de lui, tantôt il ne l'a point été. Enfin c'est un sot homme avec qui je ne veux plus de commerce." 24)

Altogether it is a curious affair, the more so as De Maizeaux was almost certainly concerned in the arrangements for the translation of the Pensées sur la Comète also, as far back as 1702, while Bayle was still alive 25). The probable explanation

22) J. des S. Supplement. March 1709. pp. 121-3.

23) J. des S. Supplement. Aug. 1708. NRL. Jan. and May 1708.

24) Journal et Mémoires de Matthieu Marais. Ed. Lescure. I. p. 125-6.

25) Bayle : Letters. 1729. No. 245. Bayle to D.M. Oct. 17. 1702. In this letter Bayle gives advice about a projected translation of the "Pensées". D.M. was clearly an intermediary in the affair, if nothing more.

is that having on Bayle's death planned an authoritative biography and collected a certain amount of material, he made use of it to prepare an account in French, to present to Shaftesbury, doubtless to encourage further support from him. Then, having encountered sickness and poverty at the end of his employment by Calthorpe, he made capital out of this account, but would not acknowledge it, either because, as a biography, it fell far short of his ultimate aim, or from fear of offending Shaftesbury. Hence the screen of equivocal statements in the periodicals. He may even have translated it himself, with the "*Pensées sur la Comète*" although the English style of both makes this somewhat doubtful. Nevertheless, his own reference to its "gallicisms" may be a defensive subterfuge, and he was never anxious to be known as a translator. It is clear, in any case, that this Life of Bayle was his second work of any size, and that it did him some service in prolonging the good offices of Shaftesbury.

It would be a mistake to suppose that Des Maizeaux's stay of several months at Bath indicates any great or sudden affluence. On his return to London, partly restored in health, he had to face once more the problem of earning his living; this time, however, he was resolved to escape, if possible, from the rut of tutoring. He was now naturalized,

and the friendship of Addison had turned his mind more than ever to hopes of different employment. Certainly the time was ripe for the attempt, for during this December of 1708, there were political changes, and Des Maizeaux came back from Bath just in time to find that Addison's chief, Sunderland, was dismissed, and Addison himself appointed Chief Secretary to Wharton, the new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Although disinclined to leave London, Des Maizeaux seems to have decided that even Ireland would be tolerable if he could obtain a humble post in Addison's staff, so the good-natured Steele was brought in, to urge on his friend the anxious hopes of the refugee ²⁶⁾. But he was disappointed, for even Steele appears to have failed to do anything for him. Fortunately for Des Maizeaux, however, Steele was not his only friend; a few days previously he had approached Shaftesbury once more, and prevailed on him to provide a recommendation to one of the most munificent patrons of literature then to be found - the Earl of Halifax, Pope's

* "Full-blown Bufo, puff'd by every Quill".

Shaftesbury's letter to Halifax on this occasion, recommending the downtrodden Des Maizeaux, is irresistible.

26) Steele wrote to his "Prue" on Dec. 18, 1708: "Dear Prue, Mr. Addison has engag'd me about extraordinary business all this day. I hope I have engag'd him to take Des-maiseaux." See Aitken, Life of Steele, vol. I. p.231.

"My Lord

16 Decem. 1708.

"Tis three or four years since I promis'd the Bearer (Monsr. Desmazeaux, a French Protestant) to introduce him to your Lord p. Being a Man of Letters his greatest hope was from your Favour; and knowing the Honour and Esteem I have for your Lord p. he persuades himself that a Character from me may do him Service. He was earnestly recommended to me many years since by an excellent Judge, Monsr. Bayl, who esteem'd him for his Ingenuity and polite Learning. If a Man of that Character, who is vers'd in the Antient and Modern Languages, and a Master in his own, with a naturall good Genius, and a sufficient Practice and Acquaintance with the affairs and Men of Letters abroad, may be thought of any Service, I may perhaps be fortunate in recommending him; if otherwise, I hope your Lord p. will pardon this trouble I give you in behalf of one of the Starving Race of Schollars. There are so few left, and those so low spirited, and out of hope, that they can hardly prove troublesome or importunate. Perhaps there might have been none of this sort left among us, had not your Lord p., even in your private Character, been a Patron to 'em, when they had none left in the Publick. How they may Multiply now your Lord p. and your Friends are coming into Court, I know not; but otherwise a Peace (shou'd we have ever so good a one) would hardly mend their Circumstances; and my advice to 'em should be to pray for Farr; and turn Engineers against the next Siege.

I am etc. " 27)

This must have drawn a smile from the noble "Bufo", and in that moment the wretched Des Maizeaux's case was won. It would be an exaggeration to say that his fortune was made, for he was never thus favoured, but there is no doubt that

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27) Rand : Life, Letters... etc. of Shaftesbury, p. 395. The MS. source of this letter is a copy in an entry-book of Shaftesbury's letters. Public Record Office, Shaftesbury Papers Series V. G.D. 24. Bdle. XXII, No. 4.

from now on he owed a great deal to the protection of Halifax, whose retinue included Addison, Congreve, Prior and even, in a sense, Newton. Having gained the goodwill of Halifax - though whether because of, or in spite of Shaftesbury's recommendation, it would be difficult to say - Des Maizeaux was probably not sorry to have failed in his original plan of seeking a post with Addison, which would have taken him to Dublin, and away from the familiar circle of his friends in London. Besides the refugees, he was all this time seeing much of Collins and the freethinking elements although Toland was now in Holland again, adding, if possible, to the terrible reputation he had already acquired there by his earlier visits.

During the year following his introduction to Halifax, Des Maizeaux appears to have made no more attempts to obtain regular employment. He was presumably basking in the enjoyment of his new patron's generosity, but what services he gave in return are not clear. From Shaftesbury's recommendation, it seems to have been considered that Halifax might find some sort of use for him; he was certainly in constant attendance upon the nobleman, as an assiduous client, and, apparently busied himself particularly in matters relating to a publication which was then arousing the interest of the learned all over Europe. This was the Foedera, the famous collection of English historical documents made by the royal historiographer Thomas Rymer. Credit for sponsoring this great work is shared

by Lords Somers and Halifax, and its compilation took many years, being still incomplete when Rymer died in 1713. The first edition, moreover, was printed by Des Maizeaux's old acquaintances, the Churchill brothers, at the expense of Queen Anne, and was limited to private distribution to selected recipients, nominated, doubtless, largely by Halifax. It was through Des Maizeaux that some of these copies were distributed on the continent, to Bignon, for example, in Paris to Jean Le Clerc, and to German scholars and libraries ²⁸⁾. From the number of references to the Foedera in Des Maizeaux's correspondence, and the news-pages of the French journals, one is inclined to suspect that his interest in the work extended beyond the mere distribution, and that Halifax may have made use of him in connection with the actual publication. If Des Maizeaux had the patronage of Halifax, he was certainly not the man to neglect any means of securing further favours, and the Foedera might well give him an opportunity well suited to his tastes.

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28) DM's rôle as distributor is indicated by letters of Bignon in MS. 4281, of Le Clerc, in MS. 4282, of J. Eldhard, MS. 4283/197-9, (in behalf of J. B. Mencke, Historiographer to the Elector of Saxony), and of Hasperg, Librarian at Wolfenbüttel, in MS. 4284. The financial side of this distribution of the Foedera was handled by the Treasury.

This, however, is mere conjecture; whatever the relationship between Des Maizeaux and Halifax, it is certain that the new year 1709 held out greater hopes for the refugee. He was now moving in the higher circles of Whig political and literary life, being also known to the Earl of Sunderland, frequenting the Westminster coffee-houses and probably a familiar figure in the precincts of some of the government offices. But his troubles were not over, for by the summer his health had broken down once more, so that he had recourse again to Bath (although his friend De la Motte hinted that this was more for pleasure than from necessity.)²⁹⁾ This was a setback; he had written to his mother of his hopes of obtaining "quelque bon établissement"³⁰⁾ but they had failed to materialize, and this circumstance, combined with his ill-health, now forced him to petition for a pension; this probably took place during July, since on August 5th the Lord Treasurer, Godolphin, asked for a report on him from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It was a somewhat lengthy business but Des Maizeaux enlisted all the influential support he could. The Earl of Sunderland was chiefly instrumental in obtaining the pension for him, while Addison appears to have engineered

29) MS. 4286/88. De la Motte to DM. Aug. 23, 1709.

30) MS. 4289/51. Marie Des Maizeaux to DM. June 1709.

the matter in such a way that it was included in the Irish Civil List, presumably because no niche could be found in any other establishment ³¹⁾. Among Des Maizeaux's papers is a copy of the testimonial submitted on his behalf, and bearing the signature of two refugee ministers, Dubourdieu and La Rivière, and, on the medical side, of Silvestre, Garth (of Dispensary fame) and Hans Sloane. It tells how

" Mr. Peter des Maizeaux being obliged to leave France on ye account of Religion, sojourned for several years in foreign Countries, where he always distinguish'd himself by ye regularity of his life, ye Integrity of his Morals and diligence in his studies;..... after this he came into England where he has for the last ten years apply'd himself to ye Education of Young Gentlemen, and always proved himself in such a manner as equally tended to his own Reputation and ye Satisfaction of these Young Men of Quality and their parents; living such course of Life, together with a continual Application to other studies, hath so much impaired his sight, and given him such violent pains in his head, as render him incapable of continuing that employment, tho' it was ye only means he had to subsist himself." 32)

After some eight months of the inevitable delays imposed by the Auditor General, the Lord Lieutenant and other official personages, Des Maizeaux was at last admitted to be "an object of her Majesty's favour and compassion" and on April 26, 1710

31) MS. 4289/102-3. Draft letter from DM. to Lord Molesworth (?). DM. says: "En 1710 j'obtins principalement à la recommandation de Mylo d Sunderland une pension sur l'Etat d'Irlande." In a similar draft letter written much later, he says of his pension "I owe it chiefly to the friendship of Mr. Addison." MS. 4289/108-9.

32) MS. 4289/94. Dated Oct. 28, 1709.

a warrant was signed authorizing the grant of a pension of 3/6 a day, to be paid quarterly ³³⁾. There was still one difficulty to overcome; Des Maizeaux ought technically to be resident in Ireland, and to do that he was certainly not inclined. Once more Addison stepped into the breach, and obtained for him a "Licence of Absence" until December 1710³⁴⁾. After that there seems to have been a tacit agreement to overlook his presence in England instead of Ireland, and he never set foot in that country, although his pension was always paid through the agent in Dublin. There were among the French pensioners a considerable number of similar "absentees", and indeed, six years later Parliament instituted an enquiry which nearly put an end to all payments. For the moment,

33) Prudent as ever, DM. obtained copies of most of the official letters concerning his pension, eg. MS.4289/95 and 96 which refer to its approval by the Auditor-General. They are also entered, of course, in the treasury Books in the Public Record Office; and the official entry of the warrant is in Out Letters (Ireland) IX. Series T 24 No. 9. The personal participation of Addison is established by a letter of Nov. 7, 1709 to Joshua Dawson, secretary to the Lords Justices of Ireland.

"Sir, I herewith commit to you the Certificates of Monsieur Desmaizeaux whose petition you have now under reference, as also the Certificates relating to Monsr. Claverie The contents of the first I know to be true, and question not but the others are so likewise."
Addison's Letters. Ed. Graham, p. 191.

34) MS. 4281/4. Addison to DM. Aug. 1, 1710, written from Dublin.

"Sir, I did not care for answering your letters till I could do it in some measure to your satisfaction. I have at last watched a convenient season to move my Ld. Lieutnt. for your Lic-^{ce} of Absence, which he has granted till December next. I am afraid I shall not then be in a capacity to serve you any further in this particular, but if I am, you may depend upon it."

however, Des Maizeaux would rejoice in financial security for the first time since his arrival in England. It was not wealth, certainly, but it meant the end of his fears of actual starvation, for even though payments were nearly always far in arrears, they continued when he had regained his health.

Des Maizeaux responded to this act of grace by turning political pamphleteer, though only for one occasion, as far as is known, and presumably to justify the granting of his pension by putting his pen at the service of the party in power. The result of his dutiful labour was a work written to discredit the Jacobites, which presents some points of interest. It was entitled Lettre d'un Gentilhomme de la Cour de St. Germain à un de ses amis en Angleterre touchant le moyen d'établir le Prétendant sur le trône de la Grande Bretagne. Through a curious error, a legend has grown up attributing to Des Maizeaux's pamphlet the title Lethe ³⁵⁾.

35) The title Lethe is used by Isaac D'Israeli in his Curiosities of Literature, and in Sir Leslie Stephen's article on DM. in the D.N.B. Having come to the conclusion that there never was such a work as 'Lethe', the present writer was interested to discover that the error had been pointed out by Mr. Frank Beckwith, of Leeds University Library, in a letter to the Times Literary Supplement (April 18, 1935. p.257). The culprit is, of course, D'Israeli, and the error lies in the misreading of Lettre as "Lethe", in DM's MSS. (e.g. MS.4289/268). Mr. Beckwith thinks, however, that D'Israeli misread his own notes, because the title is given in full in

According to his own statement, the work was

"published in Holland and afterwards translated into English and twice printed in London, and being reprinted at Dublin, proved so offensive to ye Ministry in Ireland that it was burnt by ye hands of ye Hangman" 36).

Nominally, of course, it was written in the Whig interest, but the underlying intention appears less simple than the ostensible aim to blacken the Jacobites. In the first place, the work is more than a mere broadside and amounts to nearly fifty pages. The English version seems to be the only one now accessible 37), but it reveals that the French original was issued under the false rubric of "Cologne". It is prefaced by an explanatory letter with the author's declaration that

"The Concern I have for the English Nation, tho' a Stranger, and my Affection to the Protestant Religion have induc'd me to publish this Letter" 38).

Referring to the agents of Jacobitism in England, he observes with a certain smugness and disregard for exact truth :

35) (continued)

MS. 4289/268. But there are other references to the pamphlet in D^I's draft letters, e.g. MS. 4289/108b, in which the title is abbreviated to "Lettre", which does indeed look like "Lethe", in D^I's handwriting, and was certainly so read by D'Israeli, who must be credited with the ability to read his own writing. Sir Leslie Stephen presumably accepted D'Israeli's version on trust.

36) ~~xxxx~~ MS. 4289/109. Draft letter to Lord -- (?) May 18,

37) A copy of it is in the Library of Edinburgh University. ^{1732.}
Its full title is : A Letter from a Gentleman at the Court of St. Germain's to one of his Friends in England; containing a Memorial about Methods for setting the Pretender on the Throne of Great Britain. Found at Downey after the taking of that Town.

38) p. 6.

"I should think myself very happy if the publication of this Piece may open the Eyes of that sort of People, and make them return to their Duty; be that how it will, I hope all good Englishmen will take this Present in good part; for since I have nothing either to fear or to hope from them, I am induc'd to this only by my own Inclinations, and the Passion I have to contribute any thing that lies in my power to the Happiness of that Illustrious Nation" 39)

The main text purports to be printed from a letter found at Douai, left behind by a supposed Irish Jacobite, and it contains a complete directive for preparatory action to facilitate the return of the Pretender. It is nothing so crude as a call to arms, but a project for victory through propaganda, devised in a manner not unworthy of more modern exponents of that vicious craft. Rejecting the immediate employment of foreign arms as a political and psychological error, it proposes a campaign to "soften and tame" the English by "mildness, insinuation and argument from Interest and Self Love" 40); by fomenting party strife and exploiting religious dissension. This last device is the principal instrument of the proposed attack, and it is significant that the clergy are considered to be the vulnerable point of the English social structure. Since Des Maizeaux is writing as a supposed Jacobite, this is natural enough; the clergy are to be persuaded that the Church of England is in danger from Low Church, Nonconformist and Latitudinarian elements, and it is to be hinted that the Hanoverians may favour Presbyterianism.

39) p. 8.

40) p. 11.

"You must not fail to improve this Thought", writes Des Maizeaux, and adds :

"You may also charge the whole body of the Nonconformists and Latitudinarians with certain Pieces that some Atheists, Deists and Socinians have published in England since the Revolution You must aggravate the number of 'em." 41)

As for the Dissenters,

"Represent them as furious Schismatics, who have rent the Bowels of the Church; as senseless and ridiculous Fanatics."

As the object of this piece is to impress on the public the Machiavellian tendencies of Jacobite plotters, there is nothing surprising in the method, which is efficient and simple. But closer inspection suggests that what passes for a mere double-dealing political pamphlet really cloaks a more subtle intention. For reasons which will become more apparent later on, it may be possible to see in the work an element owing something to the association of Des Maizeaux and Anthony Collins; a point is reached by the hints about the venality and self-seeking of the clergy, when they may be considered as pure deist propaganda. There are constant reminders that the collaboration of the clergy as a whole is the key to successful propaganda;

"bring the Clergy into your Interest, and get them intirely devoted to you. You are not ignorant of the Power they have over the Minds of the People, who are naturally superstitious; and you know as well as I that, the Gown excepted, the Clergy are altogether like other Men; Nay, 't would seem that they are more

addicted to Revenge, Ambition and Avarice than Laymen"⁴²⁾
and again :

"Allow me to tell you at the same time, Sir, that you don't well enough know, the Power which the Clergy has over the People, who never examine things, but are easily persuaded of what they please, and eagerly receive all that is told 'em with Authority and Confidence."⁴³⁾

These and similar passages read suspiciously like Collins, and in view of later developments, are well worth noting, as is also the fact that in the pamphlet Des Maizeaux makes a good deal of play with the subject of Chillingworth, and Tindal's Rights of the Christian Church. It is pointed out that Tindal's arguments apply to the Anglican as well as the Catholic clergy, and that

"among Men of Sense, his Arguments are still reckoned to stand in full force."⁴⁴⁾

Des Maizeaux works up cleverly to hints that it would be easy to accomplish a reunion of the two Churches, and so facilitate the restoration of the Pretender. But there is no doubt that for those willing and able to draw it, the real inference is that in matters of "priestcraft" there is nothing to choose between Catholics and Anglicans.

Des Maizeaux's pamphlet is more interesting from this point of view than for its more obvious political aim, in which, to judge from his own account, it seems to have met with some success. Moreover, it certainly reveals something

42) p.16.

43) p. 27.

44) pp. 323, 37-38.

of its author's mentality, especially his faith in the power of insidious propaganda, and in this respect it foreshadows later developments in Des Maizeaux's activities, when he tried to put into practice some of the precepts enunciated here for the manipulation of public opinion.

Des Maizeaux's career as a pamphleteer was of short duration, but his connection with political life continued. During most of 1709, except for his visit to Bath, he spent his time in the neighbourhood of Whitehall, and apparently made his headquarters at the Cockpit Coffee House. There is no evidence that he held any particular post, as yet, but he was certainly not there without good reason, and the political intrigues of the time leave one free to make all kinds of conjectures as to the purposes of his comings and goings. It is wiser to refrain, however, and confine one's attention to facts. On August 1st, 1710, Addison, writing to him from Dublin, concerning his leave of absence, ended the brief note by wishing the Frenchman joy of a new post⁴⁵⁾. That he had obtained some sort of position is confirmed by a letter from De la Motte, and by one from his mother, expressing pleasure at the news of his "bon état"⁴⁶⁾, which must have dated from the June or July. The Des Maizeaux papers and the public records are equally reticent about the nature of this new employment, which may have been simply a clerical or secretarial appointment, but from addresses and references among

45) MS. 4281/4.

46) MS. 4289/54, written in reply to a letter from EX. dated July 4, 1710.

the correspondence, it seems clear that it was connected with the Duke of Queensberry, who from 1709 until February 1711 held office as Third Secretary of State - an exceptional appointment, there being normally but two ⁴⁷⁾. Des Maizeaux's work may have been straightforward, or it may not; curious things were going on in political circles at this time, and a man with his contacts abroad may well have been involved in some of the most curious. There is no real evidence to point to anything other than literary interests, but one letter kept by Des Maizeaux is suggestive, to say the least. It is not dated, but noted merely "Vendredi au Soir", and is from Carl Gyllenborg, the Swedish ambassador in London; from its contents, it would seem to belong to the period August-October 1710.

"Monsieur, je vous prie tres humblement de vouloir bien me donner part de ce qu'il y a de nouveau aujourd'hui, particuliert. s'il est seur que Md. Peterborough soit fait General des Marines et s'il va commander quelque part. Vous y ajoutez s'il vous plait si les troupes embarquées a l'Isle de Wight sont commandées quelque part.

Vous obligez par là infiniment

Monsieur. votre etc. " 48)

Espionage, or counter-espionage ? Or merely a matter of diplomacy ? One hesitates to say, but it is interesting to recall that Gyllenborg's ambassadorial zeal aroused the suspicions of the English government to such an extent that

47) MS. 4286/150. De la Motte to DM. Sept. 8, 1711. The writer asks DM. if he has lost his post now that Queensberry is dead. For about a year before this, most of LM's correspondence is addressed to Queensberry's office.
48) MS. 4284/55-6.

early in 1717 his papers were confiscated and he himself placed under arrest, on account of the conspiracy with Baron Goertz to bring about a rapprochement of Sweden and Russia, and organize an expedition against England in favour of the Pretender. Assuredly Des Maizeaux was involved in some odd doings in diplomatic circles, but one's interest is baffled by the patent innocence of the remainder of his correspondence, or such, at least, as is preserved. In any case, whatever his activities, the situation was changed in 1711, for in February of that year Queensberry's appointment came to an end, and in the July he died. This was doubtless a blow to Des Maizeaux's hopes of a permanent and settled career, but it was by no means the end of his connection with public affairs.

The next mention of him, in fact, in connection with any public office, refers to this same year 1711, when, according to his own statement, he obtained appointment as one of the Commissioners for the 1711 state lottery ⁴⁹⁾. If this is correct, he did so through the influence of Halifax, but there seems to be some doubt in the matter, as the warrant for payment of the managers of this particular lottery does not include his name. It is certain, however, that Des Maizeaux was one of 45 managers appointed for the 1712 lottery,

49) MS. 4289/108-9. Draft Letter to Lord -- (?) May 18, 1732. DM. mentions Halifax as his benefactor in this matter.

and that he was likewise engaged for that of 1714, doubtless through Halifax, once more ⁵⁰⁾. On the first of these occasions, De la Motte wrote his congratulations :

"Je vous félicite, Monsieur, de votre Commissariat pour les Lotteries, et je souhaite que cela soit suivi d'un bon Emploi de durée; cela vaut bien mieux que de faire des Livres, métier qui n'est jamais assez à la mode pour enrichir son homme." ⁵¹⁾

These appointments were not particularly well-paid; Des Maizeaux received £100 for his work in 1714. On the other hand, the duties were not onerous, and left him time to devote to his literary and journalistic pursuits, while keeping him in contact with public affairs. A permanent post would, of course, have been more welcome, but the lotteries were better than nothing, and this period must be reckoned as one of relative prosperity. On the whole, Halifax had stood by him very well since ^{Dr} Shutesbury's recommendation, and in one way and another, Des Maizeaux had by now become almost a well-known figure.

50) The Treasury Papers in the Public Record Office provide information concerning the Lottery appointments, as follows: - 10) DM. was appointed for the 1712 Lottery on Aug. 19, 1712. Queen's Warrant Book Ref. T 52/25 pp.286-8. 2) The appointment for the 1714 Lottery is dated July 31, 1714. Ref. T 1./190. No. 37. 3) A memorandum respecting payment of the managers is minuted June 4, 1715. "100 L apiece my Lords agree to." Ref. T 1/190. No. 37.

51) MS. 4286/186. De la Motte to DM. Sept. 13. 1712.

During this long period of emergence into English life properly speaking, he was involved in numerous odd literary transactions, usually as an agent or go-between. His correspondence contains references to now forgotten editions in which he was concerned, of various authors, including La Fontaine and Rabelais, for which he arranged the translation of Motteux's notes to the famous English version. It is impossible to build up a real account of these activities, since Des Maizeaux's own letters are missing, and in any case they are now devoid of interest, except as illustrations of the close integration of the commercial side of literature on both sides of the Channel. Projects of his own, such as one for a collection of lives of illustrious writers, failed to materialize⁵²⁾. As regards journalism, these years were marked by the development of contacts with France which must be discussed separately. The year 1712, however, saw the publication of another biographical work by Des Maizeaux, this

52) Some of these lives were written by Calomies, and were unsuccessfully hawked around Holland by De la Motte, with other odd pieces. Some of them are still preserved among the Birch MSS. in the British Museum - e.g. Add. MS. 4247. They include La Clef des Oeuvres de Balzac, La Vie de Jeanelden and La Vie du Pere Jacques Sirmond. The last-named was printed in La Bibliotheque Choisie de M. Calomies. Paris 1731. They all show signs of revision by DM., and must have been found among his papers by Birch.

time his Vie de Boileau. After working for some time on the material for the promised Vie de Bayle, as distinct from the English version of 1708, he caused some astonishment in 1711 by shelving it and turning his attention to Boileau. This was undoubtedly done with an eye to immediate profit, and the occasion of it was an edition of Boileau's works translated into English, published by "the unspeakable Curll". For this, Des Maizeaux undertook - or, as he would prefer to say, was prevailed upon - to supply biographical memoirs. They were written in French and Englished by that indefatigable hack-translator John Ozell, and they duly adorned the English Boileau, addressed to Addison. Having arranged for the publication in English, Des Maizeaux promptly sold his copy to one of the publishers in Holland, for a French edition, a procedure which was later held against him more than once, and ~~still~~ shows that his wits had been sharpened by his dealings with Mortier. It is, however, difficult to understand how the French publisher could have been under any illusion, since the French text makes the purpose of the Life perfectly plain 53).

It is not one of Des Maizeaux's successes; in fact, as a

53) Publication of the French version was undertaken by the publisher Scheurleer, one-time apprentice to Tonson, but he backed out, and the edition was bought by Henri Schelte, over whose name it finally appeared. See letters of De la Motte to DM. MS. 4286/160 and 174. Jan. 5 and May 27. 1712.

biography is frankly very inferior, consisting largely of extracts from Boileau's various prefaces, and it fully justifies a well-known judgment passed on it by Warburton in a letter to Dr. Birch.

"Almost all the Life-writers we have had, before Toland and Desmaizeaux, are indeed strange insipid creatures; and yet I had rather read the worst of them, than be obliged to go through with this of Milton's, or the other's Life of Boileau, where there is such a dull, heavy succession of long quotations of uninteresting passages that it makes their method quite nauseous. But the verbose, tasteless Frenchman seems to lay it down as a principle, that every Life must be a Book; and, what is worse, it seems a Book without a Life, for what do we know of Boileau, after all this tedious stuff?"

As a matter of incidental interest, it may be noted that at the beginning of the Life of Johnson, Boswell quotes this letter, which he must have read in manuscript, so it might be claimed that he owed something to the refugee, even though it was only in deciding how not to write biography⁵⁴⁾ But in any case, the Vie de Boileau is at best a piece of hack-work, written in haste on insufficient materials. Its author defended it only on the grounds that it was intended simply for English readers as an introduction to Boileau, and as such it had presumably a transitory value. Its interest now lies only in some sharp attacks on Louis XIV's policy of aggrandisement

54) Warburton's L.S. letter is in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4320/119. In Hill's 1887 ed. of Boswell's Johnson it appears in Vol. I. p. 29. It is also quoted in Nichols' Literary Anecdotes. Vol. V. p. 578.

and some ironical references to the Passage du Rhin as celebrated by Boileau.

"La Description du Passage du Rhin, ~~qui n'est~~ est si pompeuse, qu'elle a imposé à plusieurs Historiens François, qui assûrent que ce Passage fut regardé comme une des entreprises les plus hardies qui aient jamais été formées." 55)

Des Maizeaux prefers to follow Bussy-Rabutin in thinking it a poor triumph celebrated by excellent verse. As one would now expect, there is strong and characteristic support for Boileau's satire of the clergy in Le Lutrin and the Satire de l'Equivoque. In France, says Des Maizeaux (and, by implication, everywhere else) to attack the excesses of the Clergy is "la pire de toutes les Hérésies" 56). As his correspondent pointed out, these opinions, and especially the opinions of the Dutch campaign of 1672, inevitably prevented the circulation of the book in France, but he seems to have preferred to let these expressions of his feelings stand.

Having completed the Vie de Boileau, towards the end of 1711, Des Maizeaux appears to have abandoned original writing for a time, in favour of editorial work, and to attend to the requirements of the lottery-appointments. At this period, his friendship with Addison probably became less familiar.

The Whigs were out of office, and in any case Addison was now

55) French ed. 1712. pp. 53-54.

56) Ibid. p. 83.

a Great man, even apart from politics, although Des Maizeaux was still seeing him at least as late as 1716. Another cause may have helped to separate them, besides the disparity in situation and reputation, namely Des Maizeaux's freethinking tendencies, for the refugee was by now unquestionably in the deist camp, while Addison always remained a Christian apologist. As for Des Maizeaux's intimacy with Steele, that seems to have come to an unfortunate end in 1713 or 1714. Poor Dick Steele had reached one of the bad patches of his chequered career, and was faced with various actions for debt, one of which was brought by Des Maizeaux in the Michaelmas Term of 1713 ⁵⁷¹. It has already been observed that one of the good points of Des Maizeaux's character was his readiness to help his friends in misfortune. He even lent Money to Toland, who, as De la Motte wrote to Des Maizeaux, was not only up to his ears in debt in Holland, but was "menteur comme un arracheur de dents." So, apparently, the financial transactions of Steele and Des Maizeaux had become entangled, and Steele let him down to the extent of £21.10.0. Judging by a copy of a note to Steele, the Frenchman ^Rbought the action more in sorrow than anger, but with a determination to save what he could from the wreck.

"Sir, I was very sorry to hear that you had been put to some trouble on account of ye note for £21.10.0 you gave me in December 1712, but it was too late for

571) Aitken. Life of Steele. Vol. II. pp. 25-26.

me when I heard it to stop proceedings. But I was more fortunate in respect to ye Bill of £10.0.0 which I drew on you in May 1711 payable to Mr. Davis ye Messenger, and which you were pleased to accept. Hearing he had made it over to his Brewer, and having some reason to fear least (sic) ye Brewer should put you to any trouble, I have discharg'd it, and send it you here enclosed. As I owe ye value of it to Mr. Peter La Coste, my Taylor, to whom ye Note was assign'd and I hear you are again to give a Judgment, if you will do me ye favour to include ye said ten pounds in it. I shall be extremely obliged to you.

I am with a profound respect . etc. " 58)

When this affair came to court, judgement was given against Steele, but the debt was not finally discharged for at least five years 59), during which time the erstwhile friends seem to have gone their own ways, although in his contributions to the French journals, Des Maizeaux continued to show an interest in "Mr. le Chevalier Steele".

Although the refugee was a genuine and consistent Whig sympathizer, and nearly all of his friends were firm supporters of that party, there is some indication that he now had some dealings with the Tories, as he doubtless must, being engaged on Treasury business while Harley was chief of that department. He certainly had personal access to Harley, who helped in such small matters as obtaining passports for Paris booksellers 60). This temporary gravitation towards

58) MS. 4289/144. Draft note to Steele. April 8, 1714.

59) MS. 4283/21. A note from R. Cowne, a lawyer, to DM. July 29. 1718, shows that part of Steele's debt was still outstanding.

60) MS. 4281/232-3. Bignon to DM. April 1712.

the party now in power is faintly reflected in the French journals, notably in the tone of references to Pope and Swift, but in general, the pattern of Des Maizeaux's social contacts appears to have remained constant. This was just as well, since 1714 brought the return of the Whigs to power, and of Halifax to the Treasury. Des Maizeaux was still, of course, seeking more permanent security than managing lotteries could ensure, and when Thomas Rymer, the Historiographer Royal, died in December 1713, he drafted a petition for appointment to the vacant post (a circumstance which might strengthen the suspicion that he was concerned in the publication of the Foedera). After referring to his solitary pamphlet, the humble petitioner pointed out

"qu'il y a depuis travaillé à d'autres ouvrages sur l'Histoire et sur les Intérêts de la Grande Bretagne, qu'il désireroit publier en François aussi bien qu'en Anglois, afin de donner aux étrangers de justes idées des Affaires de ce Royaume, et faire connoître en même tems aux sujets de V. M. les avantages inestimables dont ils jouissent sous son Auguste Règne, et le zèle et la fidélité où les engage un Bonheur si rare et si précieux."

Des Maizeaux then expresses his hopes of appointment as historiographer and antiquary, "avec tels appointemens que V. M. jugera convenables" ⁶¹). There is no confirmation in the public records that this petition was ever actually presented, but in any case it was doomed to failure, for just before the death of the Queen, the post was filled by

61) MS. 4289/100 (French) and 101 (English). No date, but incorrectly marked 1715 by Birch.

Thomas Madox, and with it went Des Maizeaux's hopes of £200 a year, a respectable salary in those days. It is possible that he might have done well in the post, for his antiquarian interests and talent for patient research were genuine enough, but it was not to be. Nor was he any more successful in his last attempt to obtain a permanent official appointment during the lifetime of Halifax. This time his object was a post on the Council of Trade, with prospects which made it worth a competitor's while to offer Des Maizeaux £1000 in the event of his obtaining it ⁶²⁾. This attempt took place in April 1715, but the competition was too intense. On May 19, Halifax died suddenly, and that event, a sad blow to the Frenchman, may be considered as the end of a distinct period in his life, during which he had encountered many variations of fortune, but had come close to the heart of English life, social, political and literary. It is against that background that the earliest phase of Des Maizeaux's work as a journalist must be examined.

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62) MSS. 4281/273 and 4284/39-40, Letters of Gauguin and H. Robin. April 1715.

Chapter IV.

THE JOURNALIST. I.

Des Maizeaux's career as the English correspondent of French literary journals extended for so long, and embodied such a miscellaneous collection of contacts that it cannot be dealt with as a whole. The most practicable way of overcoming this difficulty is to adopt the somewhat arbitrary process of grouping the periodicals and examining his contributions to them according to a roughly chronological order, as they are related to succeeding phases of his life. This means in effect that his journalism falls into three stages, with, of course, a certain amount of inevitable overlapping.

An account has already been given of how Des Maizeaux established a connection with Bernard's République des Lettres at the very outset of his life in England. Turning first to this journal, it may be observed that he was not Bernard's first or only correspondent in that country, but there is no doubt that he soon assumed almost the whole responsibility for supplying the English literary news, beginning in 1700. The extract from a letter from England printed in the June issue of that year is the earliest that can be definitely ascribed to him, and thereafter he wrote regularly to Bernard, sending lists of the most interesting books published in England. These literary letters do not make inspiring reading now,

being in effect little more than a kind of monthly catalogue, probably derived, in the main, from the corresponding English periodicals and booksellers' notices ¹⁾. The emphasis is almost always on topical works, and Bernard does not seem to have demanded any sort of critical account of the general background of English literature. The chief object of the correspondence was simply to provide information; and indeed, at this primitive stage of Anglo-French literary relations, this must necessarily be the primary function of all the journals, for simple publicity was the first step to the foundation of any opinion or critical attitude towards England among French readers. Des Maizeaux enabled Bernard to fulfil this obligation to the public for nearly ten years, by his news-letters, by dispatching selected works to Holland, and perhaps by supplying a certain number of abstracts himself, for inclusion in the journal. As to this last possibility, Des Maizeaux is known to have contributed one or two abstracts in the early days of the collaboration, but one cannot be certain to what extent this may have been done, since with few exceptions the articles were published as by Bernard himself. It is significant, however, that in an early letter to Des Maizeaux, Bernard urged him to be exact, and to give full translations of titles of books included in his letters, pointing out his own inadequate knowledge of

1) The English History of the Works of the ~~Max~~ Learned,
1699-1711, is perhaps the chief source.

English ²⁾. This suggests that Bernard was ill-equipped to deal with English works, but whether Des Laizeaux helped him to any great extent, must remain an open question.

At this period of French journalism, the term "literary news" must be interpreted widely. All the early journals put together, including those dealing solely with English publications, make but a poor showing as regards the attention paid to the genuine creative literature of England, and the République des Lettres is no exception to the rule, its appeal being mainly to the learned elements of the French protestant public. Thus it is not surprising to find that in his reports Des Laizeaux concentrates on philosophic and scientific or pseudo-scientific works, and above all, on the great mass of controversial publications, both religious and political, which then characterized the English literary scene. Not only were these aspects most interesting to him personally; they also appealed to the taste of the reading public, who, while they had few doubts concerning the superiority of French classical verse and prose over anything that England had to offer, were already beginning to look to the English for a lead in social, political, and even philosophical ideas. Bayle knew this, and writing to Des Laizeaux in October 1700, to urge him to publish a dissertation in English, said : -

2) MS. 4281/80-7. Bernard to DL. May 20, 1700.

"L'Angleterre est le Pais du monde où les profonds
Raisonnemens Métaphysiques et Physiques, assaisonnés
d'érudition sont le plus goûtés et à la mode; et il
n'y a point de Pais, où il soit plus de votre intérêt
d'être connu, qu'en celui-là." 3)

For 1700, this is a significant remark, and it probably made
a deep impression upon Des Maizeaux; he himself was not slow
to acknowledge the intellectual superiority of the English;
in a letter to Bernard's Journal :

"Il n'est personne qui, connoissant un peu l'Angleterre,
n'avoue que c'est, peut-être, le lieu du monde le
mieux fourni d'habiles gens, et où il paroît le
plus de bons livres - - - " 4)

His only complaint, in fact, even at this early stage of his
residence in England, was that the English journals did not
reflect adequately the intellectual standards of the country⁵⁾
Bernard could indeed congratulate himself on having a
correspondent combining insatiable curiosity with a genuine
appreciation of what England had to offer, and an eye for the
"curious". Characteristically, one of the earliest books
noticed by Des Maizeaux was The Holy War made by Shaddai
upon Diabolus by John Langan (sic). One is not surprised
to find Bernard admitting that this was beyond him ! 6)

In the very first identifiable letter to Bernard ⁷⁾, he

3) Bayle, Letters. 1729. No. 210. Bayle to DM. Oct. 22.1700.

4) N. R. L. Sept. 1701. Article 2.

5) Ibid.

6) MS. 4231/86-7. Bernard to DM. May 20, 1700.

7) N. R. L. June 1700.

may be said to have formulated the pattern of his own interests, by reporting the appearance of the fourth edition of Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding and a Latin translation of it then in preparation :

"Jugez par là de l'estime que l'on fait en ce pays de cet ouvrage" -

with a recommendation of Toland's edition of Harrington's Oceana as suitable material for an abstract, which duly appeared three months later, in the issue of September 1700. This seems to have become the usual procedure, and it may be fairly assumed that most of the abstracts of English books in Bernard's journal were made on Des Maizeaux's recommendation. That of Burnet's Exposition of the 39 articles has already been noted as his own work - though modified by Bernard - and others probably were too. There are in Bernard's letters occasional references to mysterious "mémoires", which he declined to print for fear of giving offence, or from religious scruples. Bernard was not a clergyman of the militant type, and in the early stages of their association he appears to have played Philinte to Des Maizeaux's Alceste, to judge by one of his customary warnings to the young correspondent, to the effect that

" - une vertu farouche, qui ne veut rien tolérer ni ménager, s'attire bientôt sur les bras tout le Public pour ennemi; et se trouve resserré dans un coin bien à l'écart, où elle a bien de repentir de son peu de prudence." 8)

8) MS. 4281/90. Bernard to DM. Aug. 5. 1700.

One suspects that it was Bernard more than anyone, who took the fight out of Des Maizeaux, and, turning him from frank and open assaults upon the objects of his disapproval, ^{of} made/him a kind of backstairs-agent of liberal thinkers. There are distinct indications that as a young man Des Maizeaux had an aggressive spirit which, had his circumstances been different, might have enabled him to make more of a mark in the literary world. One of the best examples of this is to be found in the pages of the République des Lettres itself ^{and} which shows that he had come under the influence of Locke, perhaps even before reaching England, but certainly when he came to know Coste, in the early days of his life there.

In 1699 Samuel Werenfels, professor of theology at Basle, published a criticism of the Cartesian metaphysic, entitled Judicium de argumento Cartesii pro existentia Dei petito ab eius idee, in which Descartes' argument for the existence of God was dismissed as mere sophistry. Descartes was promptly defended by Isaac Jaquelot, in Basnage's Historie des Ouvrages des Savants, for May 1700, and he in turn was assailed by Abbé Brillion, of the Sorbonne, in the Journal des Savants (1701, No. 2) ⁹⁾. Jaquelot did not reply to Brillion until May 1702, again in Basnage's journal. But in the meantime Des Maizeaux's interest had been aroused by this controversy, and he wrote to Werenfels to draw his attention to these articles. In his

9) An English version of Brillion's letter also appeared in the History of the Works of the Learned. Jan. 1701.

reply, Werenfels admitted that he had not seen Brillon's letter, which claimed to point out the weakness of Descartes' argument more effectively even than Werenfels himself had done ¹⁰⁾. Considering this letter from Werenfels as encouragement - for the letter had also stated that he was not convinced by Jaquelot's reasoning - Des Maizeaux himself now entered the fray, against Jaquelot. The subject of this polemic was Descartes' syllogism to the effect that our idea of God is of a Being with every perfection; existence is a perfection - therefore God exists. Des Maizeaux's first contribution appears in the République des Lettres of November 1701, as part of a miscellaneous letter to Bernard. He begins baldly enough with "Je nierois tout net que l'existence soit une perfection." And even if it is a perfection, he maintains that the Cartesian argument reduces itself to a proof that "un Être qui a l'existence, l'a effectivement" and that the Cartesian notion contains in its definition the very point which is in question. With these remarks, Des Maizeaux also published part of Werenfels' letter to him, accusing Jaquelot of misunderstanding the argument and changing his ground. Jaquelot, stung by this, published a reply inviting Werenfels to point out in what way he had misunderstood ¹¹⁾.

10) MS. 4288/241. Werenfels to Des Ma. July 1. 1701. Partly printed in Des Ma's first attack. NRL. Nov. 1701.

11) Hist. Ouv. Sav. Sept. 1701. p. 420.

Werenfels declined battle, however, and it was left to Des Maizeaux to carry on the controversy, which he did by accusing Jaquelot, in sarcastic terms, of having misread Werenfels, and suggesting that he ought not to have replied, without first checking the grounds of the argument - but then, he hinted, Jaquelot was too sublime a genius to feel the need for that.¹²⁾

Des Maizeaux's attitude was not without justification, and the polemic now began to leave Werenfels aside altogether, as it developed into a duel between Des Maizeaux and Jaquelot. Des Maizeaux attacks his opponent for assuming that he had meant to deny that a being with all the perfections should also have existence. Jaquelot had professed to be amazed that Des Maizeaux should question whether existence is a perfection, and Des Maizeaux retorted by pointing out that Descartes himself had not thought it absurd to venture on a proof of this, and had not succeeded too well. He argues that existence is only an abstract idea, to which there is no corresponding reality in the world, since all existence must be particular to some specific being. It is thus only necessary to prove that "l'existence particulière" cannot be a perfection. He asserts that every property contributing to the essence of a being, to distinguish it, is a perfection, but that "particular existence" does not count among such

12) N. R. L. July 1702. Article 3.

qualities, and adds nothing to the nature of things - and therefore cannot be regarded as a perfection. If, says Des Maizeaux, Jaquelot meant that "not to be nothing" is a perfection, he is changing his ground and giving to existence the meaning "to have real and existing properties". He agrees, of course, that without existence, only ideas are left

Jaquelot soon replied to this, criticizing Des Maizeaux' impetuosity and the "gentillesse de son petit dépit", denying on logical grounds that Descartes had been guilty of petitio principis, and urging that existence, as the source of

reality, is the highest perfection of all. Once more he affirmed his agreement with Descartes' argument, though not with all his ideas ¹³⁾. So far, the controversy had been superficial, turning on the definition of words, but Des Maizeaux's next contribution ¹⁴⁾ adopted a calmer tone after

the former "impolitesse de logique", and set out to give a fuller exposition of his point of view, and conduct the argument on strictly logical lines, by defining the subject to the satisfaction of both sides. He did this by putting forward another sample syllogism, attempting to prove "whether Solomon knew Astronomy". The first problem raised by this is the definition of the concept : Solomon, which presents a choice between "A king of the Jews" or "A man who knew all the sciences". In the latter case, which Des Maizeaux maintains to be equivalent to the assumption made in the Cartesian

13) N.R.L. Sept. 1702. Article 4. 14) N.R.L. Feb. 1703
Article 4.

argument for the existence of God, a ridiculous syllogism results. And similarly, the Cartesians : -

"Dieu est un être qui a toutes les perfections; or l'Existence est une Perfection; donc Dieu a l'existence."

is a paralogism. The real question is

"s'il y a effectivement un Être qui ait toutes les Perfections, et par conséquent l'Existence."

This, says Des Maizeaux, cannot be proved without introducing new elements of reasoning, and moreover, to define God as having all perfections is impossible without first proving His existence, because a being cannot have real perfection without existence. Admitting for the sake of argument, however, that "Un Être qui a toutes les perfection doit nécessairement avoir l'Existence", what, he now asks, is this Being? "God", say the Cartesians, but their ~~and~~ xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx opponents will say, on the other hand, that they have already maintained that God has not every perfection, in denying His existence. Thus the real question is still, whether there is a being with every perfection; if that can be proved, his existence must necessarily be proved. In terms of the "Solomon" syllogism put forward by Des Maizeaux, the Cartesian proof amounts to this : that the man who knows all the sciences must necessarily know astronomy, and this implies that Solomon knew astronomy, because Solomon and "the man who knows all the sciences" are one and the same. Yet this, Des Maizeaux

insists, is precisely what their opponents deny, and thus the even more difficult problem of proving that they are in fact the same, still remains - and the endless chain of reasoning starts off again in a circle, as it were, in a vacuum, without a point of contact with reality.

Jaquelot did not reply to this moderate and reasoned letter, and there is no doubt that Des Maizeaux scored heavily over the theologian. This is by far the most interesting of his contributions to Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, and it seems to have brought him approval and recognition. Writing to him in 1706, Jean Barbeyrac the jurist, a man of freethinking tendencies, with whom Des Maizeaux corresponded for many years, said :

"Je n'ai garde d'oublier votre Dispute avec Mr. Jaquelot. Outre la justice de vos raisonnements et les fines railleries dont vous les assaisonnez, vous avez donné à ceux qui connoissent cet Evêque de Cour, le plaisir de voir berner un sot glorieux, sa fierté rabattue, si du moins quelque chose est capable de l'humilier." 15)

Even the cautious Bernard approved - although one might well wonder that he could bring himself to print such controversial material. This is the only known instance of Des Maizeaux conducting a public controversy on such a topic, and it is of interest as revealing his general standpoint, and his ability to handle such arguments - both of which

15) MS. 4281/19. Barbeyrac to DM. May 4. 1706.

have a bearing on his relations with the deists. This polemic, after all, took place at the very beginning of the 18th century, when Christian apologists of all denominations were clinging to Cartesianism as a compromise between dogmatic religion and pure rationalism. In these letters, Des Laizeaux adds his mite to the attack upon the a priori citadel, and shows clearly the influence of English empiricism, of the school of Locke. His rejection of the Cartesian proof does not, of course, imply that he was an atheist, but it leaves no doubt of his early drift towards the freethinkers. Moreover, the difference in outlook between Des Laizeaux and his opponent is significant; it is typical of a recurring situation in the deist controversy, where the orthodox apologists so often showed themselves incapable of appreciating the position of the unbelievers, even for the sake of argument, and advanced "proofs" which could obviously have no weight where there was not already a prejudice in favour of belief. His early appreciation of the English attitude towards metaphysics is made clearer by a remark in one of his news-letters to Bernard, where he notes that

"Les Anglois ne donnent guères dans les spéculations creuses de la philosophie, et ceux d'entr'eux qui en ont fait leur étude sont ordinairement moins estimés en Angleterre que dans les pays étrangers. C'est par cette même raison qu'on y fait beaucoup de cas de Cassendi et qu'à peine y lit-on Descartes." 1c)

1c) N.R.L. Aug. 1705.

In this connection, it is interesting to find a strong expression of his personal view, in a draft letter concerning Leibniz, among his manuscripts. The tactful deletions are not the least noteworthy aspect.

"Vous avez raison, Monsieur, d'estimer la Métaphysique. Il n'y a point de science ... qui soit plus propre à rendre l'esprit juste, étendu et pénétrant. J'avoue que tout le monde n'en a pas cette idée; et cela vient sans doute de ce que les Métaphysiciens s'attachent à bâtir sur de simples hypothèses, au lieu de raisonner sur des principes évidens. Aussi voyons-nous qu'ils ne conviennent de rien; mais qu'ils se réfutent les uns les autres avec beaucoup de succès /.... Il y a une autre chose qui fait tort aux métaphysiciens /qui gâte la Métaphysique/. C'est le soin que chacun prend de l'accommoder aux sentimens de la Secte où il est né et ceux-là même qui s'attachent à travailler sur les idées les plus pures de la droite raison se trouvent souvent obligés d'y mettre des adoucissements ou d'y joindre des restrictions en faveur /de leur Religion/ de certains dogmes de leur religion Mais ce qui nuit le plus à cette Science, c'est sans doute l'envie de dire quelque chose de Nouveau --" 17)

It must be acknowledged that Bernard's correspondent was, on the whole, well qualified for his rôle as observer of the English scene, at a time of intellectual ferment.

Des Malzeaux contributed one or two other articles to the République des Lettres in his own name. His letter on biblical translations has already been mentioned; another, containing "diverses Remarques de littérature", published in August and September 1701, included a suggestion for a history of journals, later acted on by Casusati, and a plea

17) MS. 4289/312. Undated draft.

for the general improvement of journalistic standards, and the recognition given to journalists as a class. It also urged the importance of the literary news-service, and lamented the absence of such items from the Paris journals. It is not for nothing that Des Maizeaux has been accepted as an outstanding vulgarisateur, although in general he can never be considered as more than a mediocrity. The same letter included observations on typography, which drew several replies.

As a simple literary reporter for Bernard's journal, as for others, he deals for choice with serious books of all types, although frequently, of course, he does not go beyond the title. In view of his early friendship with Sloane, it seems natural to find in his letters notes of the contents of the Philosophical Transactions, and his interest is invariably aroused by any publication by a fellow of the Royal Society, even if he only notes the title. Among the books mentioned, there is a high proportion of scientific and medical works, and productions of the physico-theological school of naturalists such as Derham and Ray, whose Synopsis Stirpium Britannicarum, for example, is noted as "un livre de conséquence" ¹⁸⁾. Books dealing with religion are naturally seized upon; they fall into many categories, including studies and editions of patristic literature, of

18) N.R.L. Aug. 1700.

which there was at this time a substantial output in England, the great critical works of noted orientalist such as Grabe, and, of course, the flood of controversial works. In these brief reports, the names of Stillingfleet, Burnet, Whitby, South, Dodwell, Sherlock, Wake, Atterbury and others recur constantly, and Des Maizeaux notes patiently the output of every religious group - Anglicans, Quakers, Nonjurors and dissenters of all shades. Tillotson, whom, in the bold assertion of Anthony Collins, "all English freethinkers own as their head", attracts particular notice, and of him Des Maizeaux wrote :

"Je me suis étonné plus d'une fois, que l'on n'ait pas traduit en François ou tous les sermons de ce savant Archevêque, ou du moins quelques-uns des principaux, non plus que ceux du Docteur Barrow, puisqu'il y en a d'excellens. Cependant on traduit tous les jours mille méchans livres qui n'en valent pas la peine." 19)

It may be observed that Tillotson was made available to the French public chiefly by the translations of Jean Barbeyrac, and that it was Des Maizeaux who sent him copies of the sermons, when he was learning English in 1707 - one of many instances where the circumstances of the introduction to French readers of some English work can be traced back to Des Maizeaux 20).

Occasionally a particular topic or controversy brings a longer letter from him, as, for example, in August 1701.

19) N.R.L. Oct. 1700

20) MS. 4281/22. Barbeyrac to DM. May 7, 1707.

when Bernard's letter from England devotes as much as ten pages to the disputes then in progress over the rights of an Anglican convocation, giving a description of Convocation and its constitution, and tracing the controversy back to 1696, with reference to relevant books by Wake, Hill, Atterbury and others. Des Maizeaux's attention was probably drawn to this topic by Burnet's Reflexions on Convocation, which he had announced in November 1700. In February 1702 there are more details about Convocation, and a list of works concerning the dispute between the two Houses, with an account of criticisms of Burnet's Exposition of the 39 Articles, and the disagreement between the Upper and Lower Houses over the proposed banning of Toland's Christianity Not Mysterious. Toland, needless to say, comes in for his fair share of mention, usually in connection with minor works such as The Art of Governing by Parties, which is given an abstract in August 1701. Among other English controversies whose progress is reported by Des Maizeaux for Bernard's readers are, naturally, the upheaval over Tindal's Rights of the Christian Church, with a list of works written against it ²¹⁾, the curious affair of the "Camisard Prophets", which created much interest in 1707 ²²⁾, and the earliest of the controversies involving Anthony Collins - the three-cornered contest with Dodwell and Samuel

 21) N.R.L. May 1706; Jan. 1707; March 1707; Jan. 1708; March 1709.
 22) N.R.L. June 1707; July 1707; Sept. 1707 Article 5.

Clarke, over the immortality of the soul, arising out of Clarke's Boyle Lectures on "The Being and Attributes of God" ²³⁾. Although Collins' "Letters to the learned Mr. Dodwell" appeared anonymously, Des Maizeaux's sympathetic interest in this particular conflict is clear, from his praise of the contestants' grasp of "les plus solides notions de la Métaphysique". His sympathies can, in fact, usually be traced in a few odd phrases of criticism or approval. Thus a sermon by Hacheverell is condemned for "maximes un peu violentes", and Des Maizeaux adds :

"son stile est pompeux et enflé, sesquipedalis verba, et il semble avoir plus étudié cette espèce d'Eloquence que la Logique". ²⁴⁾

So much for the spokesmen of the High-Church party, whom the refugee regarded with considerable distaste.

In comparison with the ample reports on theological, historical, philosophical and scientific works, references to the creative side of English literature are disappointing, although this aspect is not entirely overlooked. For example, the death, funeral and celebration of "notre célèbre poète Dryden" are noted in September 1700, and in the issue of April 1701, there occurs an interesting paragraph on the English stage, which seems clearly related to Des Maizeaux's membership of the Killigrew circle. It

[24) N.R.L. Jan. 1707.

[23) N.R.L. Jan. 1707. March 1707, etc.

appears in reference to a book by one Charles Povey, on "The Unhappiness of England", which criticized various current evils, and supported Jeremy Collier's great attack upon the corruption of the English theatre. To an account of this, Des Maizeux adds a kind of apologia which is quite new in the French periodicals.

"Il faut vous dire là-dessus une chose que vous ne savez apparemment pas, puisque tous ces Messieurs qui orient contre la Comédie font semblant de l'ignorer. On ne représente ici aucune pièce de théâtre, qu'elle n'ait été revue et corrigée par ordre du Roi. C'est Mr. le Chevalier Killegrew, dont le mérite et l'érudition sont si généralement reconnus, qui est chargé de ce soin. Si on faisoit paroître ces Pièces sur les corrections de Mr. de Killegrew, il n'y auroit pas le petit mot à dire; mais qu'arrive-t-il ? Lorsque les Auteurs les font imprimer, se trouvant alors maîtres de la presse, ils suivent leurs premières idées et rétablissent ce que l'on avoit retranché. Cependant, on croit qu'elles ont été jouées telles qu'elles paroissent, et de là vient le vacarme que l'on fait. Il se peut aussi que les acteurs s'émancipent quelquefois de réciter ce qu'on avoit rayé; il ne faut pas être surpris après cela s'il s'y trouve des choses qui choquent les oreilles scrupuleuses."

One doubts whether this specious argument carried much conviction, but it is not a little curious to find that in 1701 a French protestant journal is made the vehicle for what is virtually the expression of the "official" point of view in the great English theatrical controversy.

In his English letter published in the République des Lettres of September 1701, Des Maizeux listed Dennis's Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry among the new books, and in January 1703 this reference is followed up

with an abstract of the book, presumably, though not definitely, by Bernard, which in a quotation contains the earliest reference to Shakespeare to be found in the French periodicals published in Holland (and probably in any French journal whatever). This is an interesting sign of things to come, but nothing more. As for contemporary writers, Addison is praised by Des Maizeaux for his Travels in Italy, and so is Swift, for the Tale of a Tub, but apart from these scattered notices, the reporting of pure literature is thin, and does not tempt the reader to linger over Bernard's journal. Des Maizeaux's contributions to it of nouvelles littéraires vary in length up to twenty pages, and add up to a considerable total, as they can be traced throughout the series with few interruptions, the most noticeable of which occurs at the time of his breakdown in 1708. His enthusiasm may have waned at that time for another reason, namely that the publisher Desbordes sold the journal to Des Maizeaux's old tormentor Pierre Mortier, with whose death in 1710 it ended, save for a brief flicker of life in 1716, when, however, there is no evidence to indicate further collaboration by Des Maizeaux. He had done useful work for ~~xxxxxx~~ Bernard, and the importance of his collaboration to the publicizing of the English literary scene in this periodical is suggested by a letter of Bernard, appealing for news : -

"Si je n'en reçois pas bientôt, mes Nouvelles en souffriront, n'ayant que vous en Angleterre qui se donne la peine de m'informer de ce qui s'y passe dans la République des Lettres." 25)

The case of the République des Lettres is the one clear instance of Des Maizeaux's connection with the refugee journalists of Holland during these early years. Positive contacts with others of the group are difficult to assess, but can scarcely have amounted to much. Bayle having retired from active journalism, interest is here confined to Le Clerc, with his Bibliothèque Choisie, and Sarnage, of the Histoire des Ouvrages des Savants. Des Maizeaux had certainly met Le Clerc in Holland in 1699, and had cultivated him as much as possible. Le Clerc, however, did not print nouvelles littéraires, and his journal offers no evidence of collaboration by Des Maizeaux, whose contact with the critic was maintained through their mutual friend De la Motte, and by a sporadic correspondence. Only seven of Le Clerc's letters to Des Maizeaux are preserved 26), and these deal with such matters as the impersonation of Le Clerc in England, during 1707, by the impostor Gabillon, and the distribution of Rymer's Foedera. On that occasion, Des Maizeaux did offer Le Clerc a "mémoire", but the series of abstracts of the Foedera published in the Bibliothèque

25) MS. 4281/160. Bernard to DM., no date, but probably ca. 1708.

26) MS. 4282/99-110.

Choisie seem in fact to be the work of Le Clerc himself. As far as the latter is concerned, Des Maizeaux must be regarded as one of a number of miscellaneous contacts in England, although the critic was much influenced by Des Maizeaux's circle of acquaintances generally, especially by Shaftesbury, Collins, Coste and others.

The case of Basnage's journal presents a little more possibility, but even less certainty. Again, a few letters exist from both the Basnage brothers to Des Maizeaux, and again, they have no direct bearing on the journal²⁷⁾. In 1704 Des Maizeaux put forward an abortive proposal for reprinting Henri Basnage's writings against Jurieu, and corresponded with Jacques Basnage three years later, in connection with the life of Bayle, Basnage being the latter's executor. While they are evidence of contact, these letters do not indicate any journalistic association, but the periodical itself reveals a possibility of such a connection. Unlike Le Clerc, Basnage did publish a certain amount of nouvelles littéraires from England, although they are poor in comparison with those of the République des Lettres. This news-service to the Histoire des Ouvrages des savants began before Des Maizeaux's time in England, and continued until 1702. There was then a gap until 1705, when a short report from England again began to appear ~~every quarter~~ continuing until 1709, when the publisher, 27) MS. 4281/41 etc. This correspondence has been described by Masson in the Bulletin.

Leers, sold the journal to Fritsch and Böhm, in whose hands it survived only two more issues. During this second period, the English literary news has a suspiciously familiar air, and it is a genuine correspondence. The writer is clearly interested in Shaftesbury, for example, and in December 1705 Basnage printed an anonymous 40-page review of Tindal's Rights of the Christian Church, which had just been published ²⁸⁾. This abstract was sent to Basnage from England, to avoid any delay in reviewing the work; that, at least, is the ostensible reason, but since the review gives strong support to Tindal's attack on the power of the clergy, it seems to have been intended to forestall any possible attack on the book based on first-hand knowledge. In view of Des Maizeaux's interest in the book, revealed elsewhere, one suspects that he was concerned in this little plot, though proof is impossible. As regards

28) Hist. Ouv. Sav. Dec. 1705. Article 7. P. 506. This abstract must have appeared almost as soon as the book itself. It may be noted that Le Clerc also reviewed Tindal's book favourably (Bibl. Choisie, Vol. X, 1706) and was accused of venality. He denied this, of course, but there seems to have been some sort of conspiracy to publicize the work favourably. Des Maizeaux is known to have tried to promote a translation.

circumstantial evidence for a possible connection between Des Maizeaux and Basnage's journal, it may be noted that Bernard sent him copies of it with his own periodical, and that Des Maizeaux certainly had dealings with the publisher Leers, in 1707, if not before ²⁹⁾. These points are not very positive, but they do build up a chain of evidence pointing to Des Maizeaux as the English correspondent of the Histoire des Ouvrages des Savants after 1705, or at least as one of Basnage's English sources.

The next step in following his early activity as a journalist leads to a wider field than that of protestant France in exile, and back from conjecture to fact. There is some doubt as to Des Maizeaux's earliest connections with the journals of France itself, but established fact indicates the Journal des Savants as the first to be considered. His correspondence with the writers responsible for it can be traced back to July 1705 when, seeking information for his life of St. Evremond, he wrote to one Denet ³⁰⁾, a friend of Ninon de l'Enclos, enquiring about possible help from that quarter, and proposing a literary "commerce" with the Abbé Claude-François Fraguier, a former Jesuit, and a close

29) MS. 4284/200-207. Four letters to D^r. concerning Bayle's Dictionnaire.

30) MS. 4283/69 and 130. Denet June 11, 1706.

friend of Ruet, Segrais, Mme. de La Fayette and Kinon. Fraguier, whose accomplishments included a knowledge of English, and who had just become the chief organizer of the Journal des Savants, responded favourably to these overtures, and thus began, on Des Maizeaux's initiative, another regular service of literary news from England. The document of evidence concerning it consists chiefly of letters from Fraguier and, after 1708, from Abbé Bignon, who took over³¹⁾ the correspondence when Fraguier suffered a paralytic stroke. The value of this step to the encouragement of Anglo-French understanding and literary relations becomes clearer when it is remembered that the war between the two countries was then at its height. The dissemination of knowledge of English thought and letters through the French periodicals in Holland was a relatively simple matter, but England and France were separated by military, political and religious barriers, and letters and books had to be sent secretly by way of Holland. Thus, when Bignon took over the correspondence, he revealed a justifiable nervousness concerning Des Maizeaux's position :

31) The Fraguier letters are Ms. 4283/245 - 262. The Bignon series consists of 43 letters covering the period 1708 - 1718. Ms. 4281/161 - 271.

" - quoique toute notre Liaison ne doive rouler que sur des points de Littérature, et ne ressemble par conséquent qu'à celle dont de purs Esprits sont capables indépendamment de tout intérêt politique, de paix et de guerre; si mon nom pouvoit vous causer la moindre inquiétude, donnez m'en un tel qu'il vous plaira peut-être ne sera-ce qu'une précaution utile pour vous que la poste ne puisse voir dans toute notre correspondance ni suscriptions, ni signature suspecte." 32)

This may have been before the refinements of "total war", but care was necessary, and on at least one occasion an intermediary between Des Maizeaux and Bignon, one De Lorme, a publisher, found himself in the Bastille, until Bignon succeeded in obtaining his release 33).

The correspondence with Fraguier, of whose letters eleven are preserved, covers chiefly the years 1705 - 1708; it is really a private matter, and the visible effect on the Journal is not very marked, although books sent to Fraguier by Des Maizeaux included Dryden and Spenser, and such controversial works as the Tale of a Tub and Tindal's Rights of the Christian Church. Once more Des Maizeaux's function was to supply titles of new books, and general information, while the actual reviews and abstracts of English books were written by Fraguier himself, with the collaboration of an unnamed physician, who presumably handled the scientific

32) MS. 4281/161-2. Bignon to DM. April 27, 1708.

33) MS. 4286/77. De la Motte to DM. April 1709. The Jesuits were said to have caused De Lorme's arrest.

side 34). With Bignon, the importance of Des Maizeaux's contact with the Journal des Savants becomes more apparent, for Jean-Paul Bignon was a power in the land, wielding considerable influence in literary circles, and in all the Academies. A man of liberal views, his subsequent appointment as Bibliothécaire du Roi in 1713, marked the beginning of a golden age for the Royal Library. Moreover, at the time of his literary correspondence with Des Maizeaux, whom he encouraged most effusively, he was in charge of the French literary censorship, probably by virtue of being a nephew of the chancellor, Portchartrain, who bore the ultimate responsibility for these matters. With this background, the Journal des Savants, whose direction Bignon also took over with the censorship, had a kind of semi-official status. An amusing situation thus emerges in the first decade of the century, with the chief executive of Louis XIV's censorship encouraging clandestine correspondence with England, the source of military opposition and poisonous doctrines. It is true, of course, that the arrangement worked both ways, and that an efficient censorship had need of an efficient intelligence service. From this point of view also, the correspondence with Des Maizeaux was probably useful to Bignon, but, on the other hand, there is no doubt that Bignon brought a genuinely liberal spirit to the

34) MS. 4283/254-5. Traguier to Des. April 28. 1708.

ensorship, however paradoxical that may seem ³⁵⁾.

During the years following the death of Bayle, Des Maizeaux, in addition to maintaining his information-service to the protestant exiles, who had their own methods of passing it into France, must be given credit for opening up the one possible "official" channel for the presentation of English literary news to French readers. The Journal des Savants tells the story clearly, for at the beginning of the century it virtually ignored England, except for notices of a mere handful of works passed by the censorship for translation or publication in France, usually because they were considered to serve the cause of religion. Now, under the stimulus of this new correspondence with England, the Journal showed a rapid increase in the number of abstracts and

35) Valuable sources of information on the censorship at this time are among the MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale including Bignon's registers (F.-Fr. 21 939 - 21 940) and miscellaneous material concerning the "librairie" (M.-A. 3546). They confirm the impression that Bignon's régime was efficient, but liberal, and by revealing the very small number of English works submitted to the censors, emphasize the potential importance of the contact with Des Maizeaux. Unfortunately the volumes of Bignon's correspondence (F&Fr. 22 225 - 22 236) contain nothing from Dk., whose communications were probably handed on to the printers of the Journal.

and notices published, dealing with works originating in that country, though often, of course, written in Latin. In 1707, a monthly supplement made its appearance, and nouvelles littéraires from London and elsewhere became an established feature of the periodical. Des Maizeaux, who had lamented their absence from the Paris journals, had himself brought about a change, and remedied the defect as far as England was concerned, twenty years before Voltaire's visit to that country ³⁵⁾. Bignon's letters indicate that, as in the case of Bernard, Des Maizeaux also arranged the supply of the books themselves, by way of Amsterdam, acting as a kind of business agent for the Paris journalists, through one or other of the French booksellers in London. This correspondence represents a two-way news-service, and with Bignon's letters are preserved copies of other literary

36) Simple statistics throw light upon the stimulating effect of the contact between the Journal des Savants and Dd. In 1706, before the correspondence was established, the Journal noticed seven works originating in, or concerning England; they included a Latin work by Dodwell, a Greek text from Cambridge, and translations of Dampier's Voyages, The Present State of England, Arlington's Letters and Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem. The seventh work was a Dissertation on the Stuarts, actually in English, but published in Paris by a Jacobite exile, Kennedy. In 1709, a sample year when the Des Maizeaux correspondence was flourishing, the Journal and its supplement published monthly "nouvelles littéraires" from him, themselves containing some substantial accounts, and abstracts or reviews of some thirty books, of all types from English sources, including, of course, Latin works and translations. There is a corresponding difference in quality, also. Whereas the 1706 selection is insignificant in the highest degree

news-letters from anonymous scribes in Rome, Venice, Lucca, Sweden, Switzerland and all corners of Europe, which testify to the high stage of development of the international information-network 37). It was of importance to the encouragement of Anglo-French relations in other ways too, for Des Maizeaux acted as an intermediary between Bignon, representing the Académie des Sciences, and Sloane, for the Royal Society, a contact which gave rise to a regular correspondence over many years, and was a practical step towards drawing together the scientific elements of the two countries 38).

36) (continued)

the works noticed in 1709 include Collins' Essay on the Use of Reason, Toland's Adelsideemon, most of Shaftesbury's The Tinal controversy etc. In short, the pattern of Des Maizeaux's interests is clearly visible.

37) Examples may be found in MS. 4281/170-179 etc. Des Maizeaux probably distributed similar news-letters to the English periodicals.

38) MS. 4281/196-7. Bignon to DM. July 4, 1709. The correspondence of Sloane and Bignon is preserved in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale. It seems to have taken the place of that with Des Maizeaux, to some extent. Bignon's other correspondents in England included Bentley.

Although Des Maizeaux's services to the Journal des Savants belong primarily to this earliest phase of his journalistic activities, they also extend beyond it, and the connection can be traced at least into the 1720's. Once established, the flow of nouvelles littéraires from London, Oxford and Cambridge, continued without interruption throughout the war, but the year 1714 brought a change. In the July the chancellor, Pontchartrain, resigned and went into retirement following the death of his wife, and Bignon also felt himself obliged to withdraw from the censorship and the direction of the Journal. As a result, the beginning of 1716 saw the gradual petering-out of the correspondence, and since Bignon's successors were less interested in the literary news-service, the English reports in the journal were also allowed to fall off ³⁹⁾. If Des Maizeaux's importance as an intermediary is questioned, the case of the

39) The resignation of Bignon seems to have been generally regretted. Casperg, the Librarian of Wolfenbützel wrote of it to DM. in May 1715, observing that "celui qui censure les livres présentement n'est pas connu pour un grand savant, et on dit que les Pères Jésuites y auront beaucoup de part." MS. 4234/80-81.
As to the effect on the "nouvelles" in the Journal, Bignon himself wrote to DM. on Jan. 9. 1716 "Ne vous attendez pas à voir vos nouvelles littéraires désormais exploitées dans le Journal." MS. 4281/264.

Journal des Savants during the next few years provides an illuminating answer, for notwithstanding the restoration of peace, the decrease in the attention paid by it to contemporary English literature represents a retrogression almost to the state of affairs at the beginning of the century. Once more very few reviews of English works appeared, and apart from a few Latin works, they were based on translations coming in from Holland. Des Maizeaux's correspondence with Bignon lingered on until 1713, at least, but then the latter's appointment as Royal Librarian seems to have directed his activities into other channels. By this time, the contact with the Paris journalists was hanging by a mere thread, but in 1717, Abbé Veissière, secretary to the new chancellor, Daguesseau, and successor to Bignon in handling the literary news for the Journal, wrote to De la Motte in Amsterdam, to try to re-establish the contact with Des Maizeaux ⁴⁰⁾. Consequently there was a partial restoration of the supply of literary reports from England, but it was relatively thin and desultory, and was not encouraged by the varying fortunes of Daguesseau. As a result of these political changes, the Journal sank to a very low ebb, until it was restored in 1724 by the efforts of Bignon and Desfontaines. 1722 is the last year when documentary

40) MS. 4286/223. De la Motte to DM. Aug. 20, 1717.

evidence can establish Des Maizeaux as its English correspondent but his service seems to have continued, and he was writing to Veissière, still Laguesseau's secretary, as late as 1729.

Some of the material in the Journal des Savants may be more appropriately discussed in connection with later periodicals, particularly insofar as it reflects Des Maizeaux's connection with the deists, but a brief mention must be made here of some of the more interesting topics reported by him during the earlier period. This information is printed simply as nouvelles littéraires and deals, naturally, with much the same works as are mentioned in Nouvelles de la République des Lettres. There is the same emphasis on historical, religious and scientific books, but on the more "literary" side one notes two early references to Shakespeare -

"le plus fameux des Poètes Anglois pour le tragique ", both in connection with Rowe's 1710 edition ⁴¹⁾. How much the correspondence with Des Maizeaux may have affected the selection of works for the preparation of abstracts, it is impossible to say, but he may well have had a hand in the choice of such works as Addison's account of his Italian travels, Toland's Adelsidaxton and the Essay concerning the Use of Reason by Collins, reviewed impartially as an anonymous work. One observes too that all the later works of Shaftesbury are well-publicized, either by mention in Des Maizeaux's

41) J. des S. Supplement. Oct. 1708; J. des S. Feb. 17, 1710. p. 110

news-letters, or with reviews by the Paris journalists. In the news-pages which can definitely be ascribed to Des Maizeaux, there are useful accounts of some current controversies. For example, the supplement for April 1709 gives information on the affair of Tindal's Rights of the Christian Church; in that for May 1709 is an account of the disputes over the Nonjurors. In the following November one notes the first emergence of Hoadly, and his controversy with Lackall on the rights of the Sovereign. Elsewhere, there are accounts of Archbishop King's writings on Predestination, and other leading topics of the intellectual life of England. The "Camisard Prophets" are dealt with critically, as in the journals of Bernard and Basnage ⁴²⁾. Sometimes the news consists of a mere paragraph, but some of these accounts fill two or more of the rather large pages of the Paris edition of the Journal. A particular case worth remarking is that of Berkeley, first introduced to French readers in 1711, in two accounts from London, of the Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge ⁴³⁾. It is scarcely necessary to add that the early works of Collins are adequately reported. This correspondence is less important for its intrinsic interest than for the initiative which it represents. The mere existence of regular English reports

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42) J. des S. Supplement. Nov. 1708.

43) J. des S. July 20 and 27, 1711.

in the xleading learned journal of Paris is a great step forward, the more so as it was not universally welcomed. So, at least, Bignon reported to Des Maizeaux in 1711 ⁴⁴⁾, but since Bignon himself believed in the value of the feature, the news-reports continued. They are, if anything, more interesting than those of the République des Lettres, at least during the period of Des Maizeaux's exchanges with Bignon. It is superfluous to follow here the subsequent decline.

So far, this brief survey of Des Maizeaux's association with French journals during the early years of the 18th century, has established that he was certainly the chief agent in England for one leading protestant periodical, and perhaps for a second, and also for the orthodox, but relatively liberal Journal des Savants. One more case remains to be considered in the first group of periodicals, although like the Journal, it might be included almost equally well in the second group, and will have to be referred to again. An element of uncertainty, however, relates di cussion of it to that of the earlier journals. It concerns the Jesuits and their Mémoires de Trévoux, in some respects the most interesting case of all. In view

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44) MS. 4281/210 - 211. Bignon to DM. April.2. 1711.

of what has been seen of Des Maizeaux's opinions and background, it is not a little surprising to come across such an association, and yet the link is established by documentary evidence. On the other hand, it is not so clearly established as that with other journals, and the determination of its extent and significance poses an interesting problem, particularly since some relevant correspondence seems to have been lost or destroyed. At first glance, Des Maizeaux's papers seem to tell a clear story of his first connection with the Jesuits and their journal, through the person of their publisher, Etienne Ganeau, and Bignon of the Journal. In October 1711 the latter asked Des Maizeaux if he could obtain passports for Ganeau and another French publisher, who wished to make a business visit to England. In spite of the war, these things could be arranged, if properly handled; after some delay Des Maizeaux, then connected with the Treasury through his Commissionership of the lottery, obtained the personal intervention of the Lord Treasurer, Harley, and in the following March the passports were granted ⁴⁵⁾. Ganeau crossed the Channel, and in September 1712 was still in England, where he met Sloane, and was probably much in the company of Des Maizeaux, who thereafter

45) MS. 4281/222; 232-3; and 230-7. Bignon to Ed. 1711-12. Also MS. 4281/228-9, Ed. to Bignon (draft). March 2712, and Brit. Mus. Sloane MSS. 4043/91, 124.

wrote to him occasionally. A mere handful of Ganeau's letters exist, and it seems possible that others were destroyed. It is certain, at least, that Des Maizeaux was supplying news for the Jesuit journalists in 1713 and 1714, for he kept Ganeau's letters thanking him on behalf of Père Tournemine, who was at that time responsible for the Trévoux information service. From one of these letters it would seem that Des Maizeaux's literary news was arousing interest in exalted circles : -

"Il /Tournemine/ m'a dit que vous pouviez adresser les Nouvelles Littéraires au R.P. Le Tellier, Confesseur du Roy, et ne cacheter que l'enveloppe afin que le R. P. Confesseur pût les lire, que cela lui feroit un véritable plaisir." 46/

Doubtless the Jesuits, like Bignon, had more than one reason for wishing to keep abreast of events in the English literary scene, and Des Maizeaux was apparently willing to co-operate, especially after his encounter with Ganeau.

These letters provide the most positive indication of a beginning of Des Maizeaux's connection with Trévoux, but they do not in fact prove that this was the beginning, and there is not a single letter from the Jesuit journalists themselves to answer the question one way or the other. On the other hand, there are some secondary references which suggest a much earlier association - almost, in fact, from

46) MS. 4284/4-5. Ganeau to DM. April 12. 1714.

the inception of the Journal in 1701. Although the French journals were rival publications, or organs of hostile groups, their writers remained often in close contact for their mutual benefit. There are many indications of this professional co-operation in Des Maizeaux's papers, and from the beginning, the Trévoux group were in touch with their fellows in Lolland, including Bernard. It was the latter who first praised Trévoux to Des Maizeaux, and offered to send him copies with his own journal. Moreover, in September 1701 he offered to send an article by Des Maizeaux to Trévoux, being unable to print it himself ⁴⁷⁾. More to the point, however, is a letter from Bernard in April 1702, in which he says that Père de Vitry of the Mémoires de Trévoux has written to him in the hope of opening a correspondence with Des Maizeaux. Bernard, prudent as ever, warned him against it :

"On m'a assuré que c'étoit un esprit un peu dangereux... and repeated his warning in June 1702 ⁴⁸⁾. Although this is the only documentary evidence of any weight to support the idea of such an early link between Des Maizeaux and the Jesuits, his papers contain many references to the memoirs, and he seems to have been anxious to make them known in England, sending them to Sloane, for example, with Bernard's Journal. It may be added, too, that in 1700, Matthieu

Marais

47) MS. 4281/106-7; 113. Bernard to DM. June 3 and Sept. 27. 1701.

48) MS. 4281/121-2; 123. Bernard to DM. April 7 and June 9. 1702.

writes of having forwarded an article from Des Maizeaux to the Trévoux journalists. There remains one further source of evidence as to when Des Maizeaux began to write for the Jesuits, namely the Trévoux English news itself.

This famous periodical appeared at first every two months, and the earliest evidence of direct contact with England occurs in the third issue, that for May and June 1701, with a Lettre d'un Savant d'Angleterre responding to an appeal for English literary news, and including material from English journals with (a familiar touch) extracts from the Philosophical Transactions. This was several months before the mention by Bernard of De Vitry's overtures. From November 1701, however, there is a complete breakdown of English news until the following June, i.e. shortly after Bernard passed on De Vitry's suggestion to Des Maizeaux. There is then a fresh beginning of news from England, which, although erratic at first, soon becomes regular, and is well established by 1703, the journal having in the meantime begun to appear monthly. This suggests that the "feeler" put out by the Jesuit drew a response from Des Maizeaux in spite of Bernard's warning, and that he took a hand in the literary news-service to Trévoux at least from June 1702. What has already been seen of the refugee's character and circumstances makes it most improbable that he would neglect any opportunity of making himself known in literary circles, Jesuit or not. If this is the truth,

it means that Des Maizeaux's connection with Trévoux is probably the most constant and extensive of all his journalistic associations, for there is a continuity in style ~~xxx~~ in the English news of that journal which can be traced at least as far as that of the Journal des Savants. In this respect, the lack of evidence in the Des Maizeaux papers is admittedly a serious difficulty, and before the year 1713 and the known link by way of Ganeau, the only way to arrive at a conclusion is to compare the paragraphs of English news in Trévoux with those in the République des Lettres and the Journal des Savants known to have come from Des Maizeaux. This is not simple, because the raw material is the same in any case, and the Jesuits probably edited their information, but a laborious comparison of detail in Bernard's journal and Trévoux does suggest a common source or connection. The news in Trévoux is usually a somewhat skimpy paraphrase of material published by Bernard four or five months earlier, and these recurring factors of similarity and a regular time-lag seem to imply three possible explanations. Either the Jesuits had no correspondent of their own in England and depended on simple plagiarism, or the delay was due to war conditions, or the material was sent in by the same person and deliberately delayed to disguise the fact of a common source of supply. There is something in favour of all three possibilities, but the third is perhaps the most

likely, because the material is not always the same, and the reports do sometimes show signs of being taken from genuine letters from England by the use of a conversational style. In addition, the regular time lag would seem to rule out a completely separate correspondence. The probability is then, that the Mémoires de Trévoux depended for their information about England either on Des Maizeaux alone, or on a collaborator in close contact with him, even during the first decade of the century. To have lingered over this question now makes it unnecessary to do so again, when similar problems arise in connection with other journals ⁴⁹⁾.

Since, in the writer's view, a combination of internal

49) Since any of the continental periodicals could, and perhaps did, take English news direct from the English periodicals used by Des Maizeaux, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish what might be mere copying from genuine correspondence, especially in the case of later journals. There is no doubt, however, that in the case of Trévoux a genuine correspondent was at work, even in the early stages. For example, the Trévoux English letters of August and September 1705 are obviously genuine (pp. 1448-1455 and 1642-9). The second of these contains the following sentence :

"Vous pourrez satisfaire votre curiosité sur Mr. Gagnier dans la copie d'une Lettre de ce savant, autrefois de votre communion. Je la joins à la mienne."

It may be observed that Gagnier, the Oxford orientalist, was a friend of Dd. As an example of the insignificant details of comment which relate the English reports of Trévoux to those of N.R.L., there is the case of a projected Lexicon Technicum by one Harris. In March 1703 Dd., in N.R.L. makes fun of Harris's confusion of the "Académie" and the "Académie des Sciences". Exactly the same criticism turns up in Trévoux of June 1703, and this is not an isolated instance.

and documentary evidence indicates Des Maizeaux as the Jesuits' English correspondent even before 1713, a new issue now arises. As might be expected, even the news-pages of Trévoux reveal a reactionary Catholic bias and a sometimes venomous tone, and a question which must now be considered is whether this is the work of the Jesuit editors, or of their correspondent. The answer is probably - of both. As in the case of Bernard's protestant République des Lettres and the moderate Catholic Journal des Savants, Des Maizeaux naturally supplies material which is calculated to appeal to the readers. In most cases the subject-matter is the same in all the journals, and variations occur only in small details of presentation. The usual result is a simple reversal of attitude, which appears clearly enough when the Mémoires de Trévoux are compared with Bernard's journal. Burnet, for example, is in protestant eyes a worthy bishop of liberal views; to the Jesuits, he is little short of a criminal, apart from not being a real bishop anyway, as an Anglican. And, of course, the nouvelles littéraires of Trévoux show a strong bias in favour of Jacobites, Tories and Nonjurors, all in complete contrast to the news in the République des Lettres. Yet even in these oppositions, there is a suspicious symmetry which hints at a common source. The reversal is so simple that it suggests a mechanical process. In another way, it even applies to Shakespeare; in the Journal des Savants, he is referred to as

"Le plus fameux des Poètes Anglois pour le tragique".
In Trévoux, a little later, he figures as

"Le plus estimé des Poètes comiques Anglois." 50)

The object of this appears to be to disguise the common source, and to give a little variety to the different customers, and one has an irresistible vision of this comedian Des Maizeaux sitting in his coffee-house lodging, industriously scribbling "nouvelles littéraires", in batches suitably adapted for the protestants, the Jesuits, and the "moderates". In spite of the comic element, it shows him in a dubious light, of course; yet there is consistency in it, for by this time he is to be regarded more or less as a freethinker, with no particular leanings towards any religious group, except in favour of the more tolerant. Besides, as a journalist, his chief aim was to distribute news from England, and in this he was succeeding admirably. In any case, even in Trévoux he seems to have found ways of remaining true to his own beliefs, especially at a later stage.

Naturally, the broad lines of these reports in Trévoux follow closely those of the other journals. Religious controversies mentioned include the affair of Convocation, and the now-familiar disputes concerning Tindal, the Canisard prophets, the Nonjurors, the Hoadly-Blackall conflict and the issues raised by high-church spokesmen such

50) These Shakespeare references occur in J. des. S. Suppl. Oct. 1708; Trévoux April 1709. July and Aug. 1715.

Sacheverell and Atterbury. In short, these news-letters are true to type, on the whole. Collins, however, does not figure in the pages of Trévoux until the uproar over the Discourse of Freethinking in 1713. Locke, invariably praised in protestant journals, is dismissed as "un impie Seducéen", a "Socinien outré" and an enemy to religion ⁵¹⁾. Newton, on the other hand, mentioned occasionally in connection with editions of his works, is eulogized as "un des plus grands mathématiciens du monde" ⁵²⁾.

In discussing the connection between Des Maizeaux and the journals, the reactions towards certain English works can be considered as test cases. Of these, Tindal's Rights of the Christian Church is one, and normally one would expect a representative of a Jesuit group to denounce the work consistently and unequivocally. But Trévoux's first reaction to it is the following extraordinary statement from the London nouvelliste :

"Le livre intitulé Les Droits de l'Eglise Chrétienne ne combat pas directement la Religion. L'Auteur, qu'on croit être Mr. Tyndall semble n'avoir en vue que l'abaissement de l'ordre Ecclésiastique, qu'il prétend soumettre en tout au Magistrat Séculier. On va commencer la seconde Edition de cette Satyre delicate et fort bien écrite." ⁵³⁾

51) Trévoux, June 1705; June 1706; May 1707.

52) Trévoux, Feb. 1706; Aug. 1706.

53) Trévoux, March 1708.

Considered as coming from Des Maizeaux, these observations make sense, but otherwise they appear very curious, to say the least, in Trévoux. Two months later, the book is given a full review, this time as the most pernicious work seen for years ⁵⁴⁾. This abstract, however, is in itself curious and gives rise to suspicion that it might have originated in England, like the one published by Basnage. It pays lip service to the violent orthodox attitude towards the book, which would be natural in Trévoux, and yet it gives a complete résumé of Tindal's anti-clerical views with no attempt to refute them beyond ineffectual remarks that no believer could accept such arguments, and that they merit no reply. Some of these remarks read curiously in a Result review, e.g. :

"Il vient ensuite à la reformation des mœurs, et il prouve qu'elle est impossible tandis que le Clergé aura quelque autorité."

There is, moreover, a most equivocal spirit about the conclusion : -

"Quoiqu'il y ait de quoi être surpris des excès où cet auteur s'abandonne, on l'est encore plus, de ce qu'un livre de cette nature s'imprime et se débite impunément dans la capitale d'un grand Etat."

The naivety of these remarks is such as to suggest irony, but whether that is so or not, the fact remains that the

54) Trévoux, May 1708. Article 55.

whole abstract does nothing, in effect, but give currency to Tindal's views. In later London reports the book is referred to as impious, but each new mention helps to draw attention to it. One of them is particularly interesting in view of Des Maizeaux's association with Addison and his circle :

"Ce détestable Ouvrage n'est que le résultat des conférences d'une faction d'impies qu'on appelle à Londres le Kit-Cat Club. Ces Messieurs ne reconnoissent point d'autre religion que la Naturelle. Pour la Religion révélée, ils s'en moquent comme d'une fiction." 55)

If, as seems probable, this was written by Des Maizeaux, it seems to mark a stage when simple publicity begins to approach propaganda, and is worth noting in view of later developments, when the Jesuits appear to be definitely exploited by Des Maizeaux for propaganda-purposes. There are grounds for believing that by merely spreading knowledge of English works of this nature, the Jesuits were doing their cause no good, and at least one contemporary observer saw the danger of their policy. When Toland's Adelsidaemon appeared, Matthieu Marais wrote to Mme. de Mérégniac :

"Avez-vous lu l'analyse du Livre de M. Tolland dans le Trévoux de Septembre ? Les bons pères, à quoi pensoient-ils d'instruire le public d'une telle nouveauté ?" 56)

55) Trévoux, Sept. 1710.

56) Journal etc. of Marais. Ed. Lescure I. p.117.

Leaving aside the religious aspect, it may be observed that the Mémoires de Trévoux have an excellent record in publicizing English works, but here again, scant attention is paid to pure literature. Des Maizeaux's own interest in it seems to have lain dormant until stimulated by his association with the St. Evremond group. It may have been this which gave rise to a significant remark in the Trévoux news from London in April 1703, on the occasion of the publication of poems by English noblemen, Normanby, Halifax, Rochester, etc.

"Aussi la poésie qu'on commence à mépriser en France, est un peu dédommée par l'estime qu'on en fait en Angleterre. On dit icy, je ne sçay si c'est pour flatter la Nation, que ce goût pour la Poésie prouve que nous allons avoir la supériorité du côté des Lettres, et qu'en France le mépris de la poésie marque la décadence du bon goût."

This, incidentally, is an excellent example of the evidence that the English news of Trévoux was based on a genuine correspondence.

Concerning pure literature, the London reports speak well of Swift; Congreve is named, and there are three references to Shakespeare, at the time of Rose's edition, - and he is spoken of as 'cet excellent poète' 57). There is,

57) Trévoux, April 1709. July and Aug. 1710. In this case Trévoux leads the field with Shakespeare references. The J. des S. has two, the N.P.L. one. But the Trévoux reference of Aug. 1710 is almost identical with that of the J. des S. of Feb. 17, 1710, - another piece of evidence suggesting a common source.

however, in this early period of Trévoux one particularly noteworthy article which, like the review of Tindal's book, encourages suspicion that Des Maizeaux may have contributed more than mere news. It is an abstract of the third edition of Jeremy Collier's famous Short View of the Immorality of the Stage, published in the issue of April 1704⁵⁸). Although it is not original work, it is something of a landmark in French journalism, for the information it gives on the English playwrights, mostly reproduced, of course, from Collier. A previous account of Collier's book by Basnage, had concentrated on the moral issues, and given no real information about the poets. This article in Trévoux, however, contains among other things the second reference to Shakespeare in a French periodical (following the one by Bernard in 1703), and also deals with Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben Jonson, and Dryden. It speaks of the English theatre as having reached

"un degré de perfection que la plus part de leurs voisins sont contraints d'admirer",

and, being based on this appreciative attitude, it is a real contribution to French knowledge of the subject. There are certain peculiarities which suggest that it was written by a Frenchman in England, and in that case, Des Maizeaux must be considered as a promising candidate for the honour. To

58) Trévoux, April 1704. Article 57.

begin with, it is not simply translated blindly from Collier, but contains a few added comments of a suggestive kind, such as :

"Benjohnson, qui passe avec raison pour un de nos meilleurs poètes - - - -"

This "nos" is significant, especially as the phrase is not in Collier, but a little further on, one reads :

"On ne parle pas icy du galimatias continuel qui règne dans les Comédies Angloises; Benjohnson luy mesme, qui au sentiment de Mr. de St. Evremond, est comparable à notre Molière, n'est pas tout à fait exempt de ce défaut."

This time, the "notre" is clearly written from the French point of view. This discrepancy, the style of the whole, and the handling of the subject-matter, obviously by someone knowing something about it, seem to distinguish the article from the work of the ordinary Trévoux journalists. Moreover, the reference to St. Evremond recalls that this abstract was written precisely when Des Maizeaux was editing his works. As for the theatrical controversy, something has already been seen of his interest in it by reason of his connection with Killigrew. Speculation as to whether Des Maizeaux did in fact write this review must end here, but to justify this digression it must be added that the article is of quite exceptional interest as a source of a whole series of letters on the English theatre which appeared twenty years later in the Mercur de France and

which may also be ascribed to Des Maizeaux on fairly strong grounds 59).

During the first few years of the existence of Trévoux, the question of whether or not Des Maizeaux was the Jesuits' agent in England can best be judged by comparison with Bernard's République des Lettres, but from about 1707, the Journal des Savants provides a better standard of comparison. It tells much the same story; there is a similar, though shorter time-lag in the mention of the same English publications, and internal evidence points strongly to a close relationship between the English news in these two journals, which is in any case established in 1713 by the Ganeau letter. It is thus convenient to pause at that point, not only because it marks the stage at which consideration of Trévoux can be put on firmer ground, but also because it is roughly the period at which Des Maizeaux's information service was branching out to include other journals published in Holland. So far, this cross section of his journalistic contacts has revealed a striking development in the publicizing of English literature, through the stimulus given by Des Maizeaux to the organization of a systematic literary news-service from that country, originally, of course, the invention of the 17th century, when La Roque began to perform a similar service to

59) See Chapter X.

Bayle. To appreciate the next phase of Des Maizeaux's relations with the French periodicals, it is necessary to turn once more to the background of his experiences in England.

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Chapter V.

Des Maizeaux and the Deists.

The death of Halifax in 1715 marks a distinct turning-point in Des Maizeaux's career. It brought a check to his attempt to climb into English political life, and from now on, his literary preoccupations far outweigh his connection with public affairs. There is no evidence that he obtained any other public posts after those concerned with the lottery although it was scarcely for want of trying. The death of a patron, especially one such as Halifax, was a serious matter, and Des Maizeaux's first resource was to try to obtain the goodwill of the heir ¹⁾. With this aim, he may possibly have been the author of an anonymous life of Halifax, published in 1715 with the latter's works ²⁾. Whether he was or not, the

1) On the death of Halifax, Eignon wrote to M^r. "Un protecteur tel que lui ne se recouvre pas aisément." MS. 4281/259. June 29, 1715. A further undated note of 1715 says, "Aussi ai-je esté ravi d'apprendre que Milord Montaignu en héritant des biens de son oncle, a hérité de ses sentiments à vostre égard." MS. 4281/261/2.

2) Memoirs of the Life of Charles Montague, late Earl of Halifax. 1715, published by Curll and others. M^r. certainly had dealings with Curll, and was in the habit of making capital out of his friends and protectors, e.g. St. Evremont, Bayle, Addison, Toland, etc. This work was dedicated to Halifax's heir with a definite appeal for patronage, and a hint of past patronage by his uncle. There is occasional emphasis on points which might be expected to interest M^r. particularly, e.g. Halifax's support for the French refugees, and an affirmation of

new Earl seems to have responded, temporarily at least. It was clear, however, that there was little to hope for from him, and from the same year Des Maizeaux began to attach himself to another rising man, Lord Chief Justice Parker, soon to become Lord Chancellor and Earl of Macclesfield. With him, as will be seen later, Des Maizeaux had close ties for the next ten years, until his downfall and retirement, but it is another, and more private side of the Frenchman's life which assumes greater interest, with the departure of Halifax from the scene - namely, the association with the English deists, and above all Des Maizeaux's friendship with Anthony Collins.

The deists as a whole recur so constantly in the story of Des Maizeaux, that their influence, and his connection with them must be traced from his early days in England, developing side by side with those other aspects of his life which have already been discussed. The origins of his deist sympathies undoubtedly go back to the years of study in Switzerland, and, in all probability, to a simple reaction against the intellectual climate of Calvinist

2) (continued)

their loyalty and contribution to English prosperity (2nd ed. pp. 153-4). There are also long accounts of religious questions, of Halifax's interest in medals, (in which EM. also took an interest, and which he wished to write about if appointed historiographer), and of course, of the promotion of the Foedera. Such phrases as "addressing to his Lordship" (p. 267) might indicate a gallicism. If EM. were seeking the patronage of the new Earl, these anonymous memoirs might well be his line of approach.

Geneva. Then, to a wavering mind, a decisive impetus must have come from the double influence of Bayle and St. Evremond, a powerful combination of complementary scepticisms, with more than a hint of Spinozism coming through St. Evremond. The first stage of Des Maizeaux's contact with English deism is represented by Shaftesbury, and as this association has already been outlined, there is little to add, since there was no decisive influence comparable to that of Bayle. Shaftesbury marks a step along a path already determined; Des Maizeaux appreciated and enjoyed his writings, but apart from the abortive attempt at translation, the unequal association produced nothing of real interest. In connection with Shaftesbury, Des Maizeaux is only noteworthy as an early publicist, and even in that function, he played no great positive part, although he is included among the "hérants and commentateurs" by M. Casati ³⁾, chiefly on account of Leibniz's remarks on the Letter Concerning Enthusiasm, which Des Maizeaux published in 1720 in his collection of philosophical pieces. It is significant, however, that the French journals which first drew attention to Shaftesbury are those for which Des Maizeaux was a leading agent in England, with

3) Rev. de Litt. Comparée. Vol. XIV. 1934. pp. 615-645.
M. Casati deals at length with the early publicising of Shaftesbury.

the exception of Le Clerc's Bibliothèque Choisie. Le Clerc seems to have written his favourable reviews quite independently, but there is some reason for thinking that it was Des Maizeaux who first brought Shaftesbury's works to the notice of the writers of the Journal des Savants, the Mémoires de Trévoux, Bernard's République des Lettres and the Histoire Critique de la République des Lettres ⁴⁾. Actually Basnage was first in the field with a notice of any length, by publishing in his Ouvrage des Savants an abstract of the Letter Concerning Enthusiasm, and although it was the translation that Basnage noted, he remarks that he had also received the English version from his correspondent in that country, who, as has been shown, may well have been Des Maizeaux ⁵⁾. Almost all the early French reviews of Shaftesbury are based on translations, but the first reference can usually be found in Des Maizeaux's newsletters ⁶⁾. In any case, there are vague indications that

4) Ibid.

5) The London news-writer for the Hist. Ouv. Sav. remarks to Basnage "Mylord Evêque de Gloucester répond au Traité de l'Enthousiasme que je vous ai envoyé." Hist. Ouv. Sav. Dec. 1708, p. 562.

6) Brief references will be found in DM's "nouvelles littéraires" in the N.R.L. March 1709 (Enthusiasm) and in the J. des S. June 1709, Suppl. (The Moralists), Nov. 1709 Suppl. (Vit and Humour), March 10, 1711 (Soliloquy).

Des Maizeaux and Coste also worked together to promote the actual translations, especially that of the Freedom of Wit and Humour, to which there are a number of veiled references in the letters of De la Motte to Des Maizeaux ⁷⁾. It should be remembered that Coste was employed as tutor to Shaftesbury's son, and it is natural to look for roots of the Shaftesbury influence in France in the activities of these two exiles, so closely allied by joint obligations to the distinguished peer. It is, indeed, possible that both of them hoped to play a part in the publication of the complete Characteristicks in 1715, but were repulsed by Shaftesbury's editor Micklethwaite, though of the two, Coste was perhaps more deeply involved ⁸⁾. The last hint of personal contact between Des Maizeaux and Shaftesbury is in a letter from De la Motte in 1711 ⁹⁾, noting the despatch of a book for the noble philosopher who shortly afterwards left England for the last time, to die in Italy in 1713. After a most promising

7) e.g. MS. 4286/100 and 203. De la Motte to DM. Jan. 5, 1712 and Jan. 4. 1715.

8) Coste and DM. were certainly responsible for the appearance in the Histoire Critique Vol. I, 1715, of two articles (Nos. 10 and 13) relating to Shaftesbury. One of these is Leibniz's observations on the Characteristicks, kept by Coste and subsequently reprinted in DM's Recueil de Pièces sur la Philosophie. Referring to this in a news-letter in Nouvelles Littéraires of July 25, 1716 (p. 64) DM. says that if Shaftesbury had not died, they would have appeared with the Characteristicks in 1715. DM. certainly knew all the circumstances of this edition, and his remarks suggest a possible grudge against Micklethwaite by way of whom he received some correspondence.

9) MS. 4286/135. March 31. 1711.

beginning, the story of the personal relations of Des Maizeaux and his patron thus gradually loses interest, and to carry on the account of his connection with the deists, one must turn to the case of Toland.

Here again, although the association was a long one, the actual documentary evidence relating to it is thin, and there is now no trace of any correspondence between them. As has been seen, Des Maizeaux's acquaintance with the men whom Sayous aptly describes as the "bohème de la philosophie religieuse" began in 1701. There is an instance of common ground, and possible collaboration between them in 1704, in the publication of an edition of Aesop's Fables "with the Moral Reflections of Monsieur Baudoïn", and the Life of Aesop by Méziriac "prefix'd by another hand". There are many references to this short Life in Des Maizeaux's correspondence; he was discussing it with Bayle in June 1704,¹⁰⁾ and tried to obtain copies of it. He certainly got it re-published in French, and perhaps in Latin, having apparently borrowed a copy from Sloane¹¹⁾. It is possible that he was the "other hand"

10) Bayle: Letters. 1729. No. 260. June 17, 1704, and an undated note from DM. to Sloane. Brit. Mus. Sloane MSB. 4058/234.

11) A Latin edition of the Méziriac Life appeared in 1716, and a French version was published in Sallengre's Mémoires de Littérature, through DM.

connected with this edition, the translation of the Moral Reflections being ascribed to Toland. The dedication, it may be noted, is to Collins, whom Des Maizeux had met the previous year.

In 1705, De la Motte mentions a possibility of Des Maizeux translating Toland's Relations of the Courts of Prussia and Hanover ¹²⁾, but this project, if it was seriously intended, seems to have come to nothing, and thereafter the relations of the two men can only be traced dimly, from isolated references - mostly uncomplementary - by De la Motte, and from regular attention to Toland's publications in Des Maizeux's news-letters to the journals. During these years, Toland produced little controversial work until Adesideamon and Origines Judaïques in 1709, which, as has been observed, were publicized to some extent by Des Maizeux. Until that time, however, his strongest propaganda-effort on behalf of a deist or anti-clerical work was concerned with Tindal and his rights of the Christian Church, and not only did he publicize this work widely, even in his political pamphlet, but in 1710 was certainly negotiating for, ^{or} suggesting,

12) MS. 4286/14. De la Motte to Des Maizeux, March 32, 1705.

"Mr. Mortier me dit hier qu'il ne voulait pas la relation de la Cour de Prusse de Toland. Si vous voulez la traduire, je vous trouverai un Libraire."

its translation ¹³⁾.

Toland and Des Maizeaux were drawn together by the bond of common poverty as well as by intellectual affinities, but after Toland's departure for the continent in 1707, there is no evidence of their personal relations until 1715, when a letter from Toland to the antiquary Ralph Thoresby reveals their contact once more ¹⁴⁾. They had, however, probably seen much of each other since Toland's return to England in 1710, for both men were then moving on the fringe of political life. It may be observed that many contemporary references speak in terms of freethinking clubs, and Des Maizeaux's association with Toland seems to have developed in this kind of gathering, and at the coffee-houses which both frequented. Both were entertained by Anthony Collins, too, and there are indications that Des Maizeaux's relations with another prominent freethinker, Thomas Gordon, date from this period of group activity.

13) MS. 4286/106 April 22. 1710. De la Motte asks about "Les Droits de l'Eglise Chrétienne et ses Camarades du feu" MS. 4286/124 Dec. 23. 1710. De la Motte to DM. "Je ne doute que dès que j'aurai reçu les Droits de l'Eglise etc. je ne trouve à le faire imprimer."

14) "A Collection of several pieces of Mr. John Toland" ed. Des Maizeaux. 1726. Vol. II. pp. 436-8. Toland to Thoresby. Sept. 29. 1715. The letter refers to DM's mention of Thoresby's Ducatus Leodensis in foreign journals.

If in earlier days Des Maizeaux had lent money to Toland, there was one occasion when Toland, himself in some distress, was of service to his refugee-friend, in a rather similar way. The latter's pension figured in the Irish Civil List, like many others granted to refugees, and this in theory entailed residence in Ireland. In fact many of the recipients, like Des Maizeaux himself, remained in England; this was felt to be an abuse, and in 1717 parliamentary enquiries were set on foot to review the whole question of absentee pensioners. As a result, a verbal order was made in June 1717 suspending payments, already two years in arrears, and Des Maizeaux was advised to solicit the intervention of influential friends ¹⁵⁾. On receipt of this warning, Des Maizeaux obtained the help of Toland, who brought his case to the notice of a noble lord, almost certainly his own protector Molesworth, although he is indicated only by initials in the relevant correspondence.

Des Maizeaux wrote a long letter ¹⁶⁾ relating his circumstances and history, and mentioning his hopes and plans for an English biographical dictionary modelled on Bayle, and

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15) MS. 4283/93-97, 123. Letters of Theo. Desbrisay, the pensioners' agent in Dublin, to DM.

16) MS. 4289/102-3. Draft letter, undated. DM. to Molesworth (?)

Toland, writing to Molesworth, said he had assured Des Maizeaux that

"as a patron of Letters and honest men in distress, he might entirely depend upon your protection." 17)

By August 1719, the move had succeeded, and Molesworth could write to Toland :

"I had a letter from Mr. Des Maizeaux, and have served him so far that his pension will be continued, and everyone else upon ye same foot they have him." 18)

This is the clearest example of the personal association of Des Maizeaux and Toland, and from then on, one can only assume the continuation of their friendly relations. It may be significant that this last period of Toland's life saw a final outburst of critical activity in Nazarenus, Tetradymus and similar works, perhaps based on frequent discussions among the freethinkers generally, including the Frenchman. Toland was staying with Collins in October 1720, but after that he seems to have withdrawn himself to Putney, where he died in February 1722.

Des Maizeaux's interest in Toland did not, however, end with his death, for it was he who undertook to keep alive the memory of that disreputable philosopher, who, after all, was a genuine initiator, and a force in English thought of the 18th century. Des Maizeaux seems to have acquired such

17) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4465/36b. (Toland papers). Draft letter to Molesworth.

18) Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 4465/19. Aug. 1. 1719.

papers as Toland left, and they are now in the British Museum, bearing distinct traces of having passed through the refugee's hands ¹⁹⁾. Actually two sets of memoirs of Toland were published, the first of them in 1722, ascribed to that even more picturesque figure Edmund Curll, who in his earlier days supported the High-Church party, but seems later to have become somewhat deeply involved with the freethinkers. These first memoirs were heavily criticized by La Chapelle in the Bibliothèque Angloise, on whose authority the attribution to Curll rests ²⁰⁾. They are in fact very slight, but by their similarity to those issued in 1726 with Des Maizeaux's edition of Toland's posthumous works, seem to have been prepared from the same sources, probably with the connivance of Des Maizeaux, who must have been hand in glove with Curll on several occasions ²¹⁾. In

19) The Toland papers consist of two small volumes. Add. MSS. 4295 and 4465. They form part of the Birch collection, having probably been acquired with DM's other papers.

20) Bibl. Angl. Vol. X. p.528.

21) The probable co-operation of DM. and Curll on this occasion is perhaps indicated by the following remarks in the dedicatory address to "S - B - L -"

"It happened by the greatest accident in the world that I fell into the company of a Gentleman who had been intimately acquainted with Mr. Toland, and who very generously communicated to me several particulars concerning him." There are further signs of dealings between Sir B. Lucy and Curll at the time of Collins' death, referred to below.

any case, the 1726 memoirs also bear the date 1722, and are addressed to "S - B - L -.", presumably Sir Berkely Lucy, the friend of Collins and Des Maizeaux and also, apparently, of Curll. In publishing Toland's remains, Des Maizeaux did for him what he had done for St. Evremont. The posthumous works are of little importance, except for the account of the Druids, and the whole affair is only of interest now as a gesture of sympathy on the part of the refugee, who can hardly have derived much profit from the works or the memoirs. This publication does, however, set the seal on the friendship of these two, and it did contribute to the publicizing of that curious figure Toland by his friend, other examples of which are best considered in connection with the French periodicals. From this brief account of a twenty-years' association for which there is such a miserable showing of documentation, it is something of a relief to turn to the much richer and, indeed, fascinating subject of Des Maizeaux's friendship with Anthony Collins, one of the best and most influential representatives of English deism.

The coming together of these two men may not unreasonably be considered a moment of real importance to Anglo-French relations. It certainly was so for the humble refugee, for it must have affected his whole life for many years. The earliest stage of this association, which might seem almost as unequal as that between Des Maizeaux and Shaftesbury, is

poorly documented. It is not known how they met, although Coste appears the most likely man to have brought them together. But it might also have been through Toland, or Shaftesbury, or through Sir Berkely Lucy, whom Des Maizeaux names among his early acquaintances in England, and who was also a close friend of the freethinkers. The bond between Coste and Collins was their joint interest in Locke, and after 1703 it is certain that Des Maizeaux was soon closely linked with Locke's friends making up what might be called the Oates group, including Lady Masham as well as Coste and Collins ²²⁾. He transmitted to them books and journals from Holland, but it is scarcely likely that he himself visited Oates or met Locke. This common admiration of the great philosopher undoubtedly helped to hold together this triumvirate of Collins, Coste and Des Maizeaux during the early years of the century. Collins was a trustee of Locke's will, and had been accepted by him as the chosen instrument to carry on his philosophical enquiries. Although Collins reached a position which Locke would presumably have rejected, his works do, of course, represent one development from Locke's position.

22) MS. 4286/62. De la Motte to DM. June 15. 1708, refers to Lady Masham's death, and the ending of the dispatch of periodicals for her. Bayle's letters to Coste and DM. also throw light on his relations with the "Oates group".

At this time Collins, three years younger than Des Maizeaux, was already a widower with three young children, living in Lincoln's Inn Square during the winter, and spending the summers near Windwor, and later, at a succession of country houses in Surrey. It is doubtful whether there was very much contact between them until 1705, when regular references begin to appear in Des Maizeaux's correspondence, chiefly from De la Motte, who seems to have supplied many books and periodicals to Collins, as to Addison, by way of Des Maizeaux. The earliest dated letters from Collins to Des Maizeaux were written from Holland in 1710 ²³⁾, but one undated note referring to Toland leaving England, was probably written in 1707, and suggests that there was early correspondence between them which is now lost ²⁴⁾. The only other indications of the growth of this friendship before 1710 are the scattered references to Collins' earliest works in the periodicals. These works themselves do not offer any real grounds for consideration from the point of view of a possible "Des Maizeaux influence", belonging as they do to the more speculative side of Collins' work. They are the Essay on the

23) MS. 4282/112, 114-5.

24) MS. 4282/238. Almost certainly 1707. Collins writes :
"Pray when you honour me next with a letter, let me know
whither Mr. Toland is gone for Holland and when he went."
Toland is not known to have left England again after his
travels from 1707 to 1710.

Use of Reason, and the series of letters concerning the controversy on the soul between Clarke and Dodwell; their background is preponderantly English, as is that of Priestcraft in Perfection. This was the first of Collins' writings to receive any real publicity through Des Maizeaux, perhaps because it dealt with an alleged fraud in the 39 Articles of the Church England, a subject whose treatment by Burnet has been seen to have aroused Des Maizeaux's interest on his arrival in England. Priestcraft in Perfection was published in 1710, and it is appropriate to recall that this was also the year when Des Maizeaux published his Lettre d'un Gentilhomme à la Cour de St. Germain. In the writer's view, it is no accident that this work should also include a number of hints and equivocal statements concerning priestcraft, although it is perhaps too early to speak of actual collusion between Collins and Des Maizeaux.

During 1710, Collins paid a visit to Holland ²⁵⁾, where he met several of Des Maizeaux's friends and correspondents, including Le Clerc, De la Motte and Sallengre, probably on

25) There seems to be an error in the standard accounts of Collins, based on materials collected by DM. for the General Dictionary, and which give 1711 as the year of Collins' first visit to Holland. That it took place in 1710 is shown consistently in DM's correspondence. See De la Motte's letters. MS. 4286/108-114.

Des Maizeaux's recommendation. A friendly atmosphere prevailed, excursions were made, and De la Motte supplied Collins with money and books, while the latter undertook various commissions for Des Maizeaux. A letter by Coste observes of Collins that

"Il se loue beaucoup de toutes les connoissances qu'il a faites à Amsterdam, quoi qu'il ne paroisse pas fort amoureux de cette ville, qui lui paroît fort solitaire pour un homme de lettres." 26)

Undoubtedly this widening of contact with the French exiles, in a country where the memory of Bayle was still strong, did much to stimulate the English freethinker and to broaden his outlook, and it probably strengthened the bond between Collins and Des Maizeaux on his return to England. This was the period of Des Maizeaux's closest connection with public life, but in spite of his commitments in that direction, there are signs of a ripening intimacy between the two men. In 1712, when Collins was preparing his first great bombshell, the Discourse of Freethinking, he was pressing the Frenchman to spend the summer with him in Surrey 27) - a point of some significance in view of later

26) Bibliothèque du Protestantisme Français. MS. 295
No. 33. Undated note from Coste to De la Motte.

27) MS. 4282/116 and 230. Collins to De la Motte. May 4, 1712, and an undated note.

developments. In fact, Des Maizeaux was apparently unable to accept the invitations, presumably because of the Lottery- work, and his own private schemes, but they are an indication that the close relationship of later years was already in being.

The Discourse of Freethinking appeared in 1713, and the great public stir which it occasioned was said by Collins' enemies to have driven the freethinker to seek safety in fleeing back to Holland. Des Maizeaux, whose papers and writings are the chief source of information on Collins, strongly opposes this idea, although some of the evidence from this source is clearly defective. Whatever the circumstances, Collins certainly did spend a second period on the continent, which meant that contact between the two friends was broken for a considerable time, at least until October 1713, when Collins is said to have returned. From then on, there is silence concerning Collins' activities, except indirectly through the periodicals, and nothing positive is known of his relations with Des Maizeaux until 1715. At this point the circumstances arising from the death of Halifax and the failure of Des Maizeaux's hopes of a permanent post, began to bring the two friends closer together than ever, and more definite evidence begins to appear, which points to the development of a new kind of relationship, which was to remain constant until Collins' death in 1729.

At about the time of Halifax's death, Collins went to live on an estate at Hatfield Peverel, in Essex, having apparently decided to devote more of his time to the country and being wealthy enough to lead the life of a regular country squire. The re-orientation of the freethinker's life is demonstrated by his emergence as a Justice of the Peace, Deputy Lieutenant, and Treasurer of the County, and in carrying out these functions he became generally liked and respected for his integrity. Hatfield Peverel remained his country seat until 1718, when he moved his quarters to the Hall at Great Baddow, near Chelmsford. It was at these two estates that Des Maizeux now began to spend much of his time, in addition to visiting Collins in Lincoln's Inn Square. The developments in Collins' life may in fact be said to have transformed the life of the refugee also, for the letters preserved among Des Maizeux's papers present a record of many visits to Collins in Essex, at least ten, and probably more, for there are obvious gaps. Sometimes they would last for four or five months, and Collins constantly pressed the exile to spend the summer or autumn with him, the warmth of his friendship not being satisfied by their companionship in London. Des Maizeux was urged to give up his lodgings and to bring his books and work into the country, and indeed the Frenchman, glad enough to shake the London dust off his feet, and "seeming not to

disrelish the diversions of the country"²⁸⁾ would prove an easy prey to tempting offers of "some diversion abroad, besides my study of books and a good fire" ²⁹⁾. Collins kept horses and hounds, for the entertainment of himself and his son, now growing to manhood, and coursing and other country pursuits now became Des Maizeaux's diversions, with visits to the local gentry, among whom the freethinker was popular; all this must have seemed not the least curious of the refugee's experiences.

Collins was certainly the best friend Des Maizeaux ever had, and that in itself was something of a distinction. Then, many years later, Prosper Marchand taunted him with being "patronised" by the freethinker, he retorted angrily that the bond between them was none of that sort, but one of genuine friendship ³⁰⁾. Moreover, it was a friendship

28) MS. 4282/123. Collins to DM. Feb. 9.1716.

29) MS. 4282/236. Collins to DM. Undated but probably late 1716.

30) Attacking DM. in the Journal Littéraire Vol. XII. pt.2 1728, Marchand talks of "Mr. Collins, son Patron" (p.440 In a MS. draft of a reply, DM. writes : "Il est mon ami, et je suis très sensible à son Amitié. Marchand dit que je suis obligé d'avoir égard à son témoignage, et que j'ai de trop fortes raisons pour oser m'en dispenser comme si les liens de l'Amitié avoient quelque droit sur les Opinions." Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 4226/317-3.

which gave Des Maizeaux more solid enjoyment of life than any patronage of the great men would have done, as the letters show clearly enough. Naturally Collins interested himself in the affairs of his less fortunate friend, and, for example, writing from Hatfield Feverel in 1717, said :

"When we are here together, we shall not be so taken up with literature, politicks and country diversions, as not to think upon your subject, in which I shall always interest myself, agreeably to the professions of friendship I make." 31)

But the pleasures of this association are revealed more clearly in the following observations of Collins, written as he was awaiting the arrival of his friend at Baddow Hall

"I am in a very pleasant place, with green fields about me all dry in the wettest weather, and have an agreeable prospect all about me, and am in a good country of sport, so that if we have but good weather we are sure of spending our time well; but if not, we must do as well as we can with good fires good books, good wine, Philosophers, meals and Country Appetites." 32)

In spite of the inequality of their circumstances, the wealthy widower and the poor bachelor made a good household of it, so that Collins would lament Des Maizeaux's departure :

"By quitting this place, you have made it less agreeable to me; so that I intend to follow you..." 33)

His attempts to lure Des Maizeaux back are almost naive :

31) MS. 4282/117-8. Collins to DM. April 26. 1717.

32) MS. 4282/224-5. Collins to DM. Oct. 10 [1718/

33) MS. 4282/157. Collins to DM. Dec. 10. 1718.

"I have been a-coursing but once, and then had the same success but not the same pleasure I had, when I had your company. I have din'd with some of my neighbours, and they have dined with me. They all ask'd after you; so that I think you ought to come here to return their civility." 34)

There had assuredly never been such days for "Des Maizeaux l'Anglois"; Matthieu Marais, who nicknamed him this in later years, would surely have grinned more maliciously than ever, could he have seen Des Maizeaux leading the life of a country gentleman - coursing, dining with the local squires, spending Collins' money freely on chests of vintage "Florence" (if he thought it fit to drink), on the best "Bohee tea" and on all the books he considered would be useful to himself or his host, with a free hand to bring his friends down to Baddow, including, of course, Toland 35).

These, the Malcyon days of Des Maizeaux's life, present a diverting spectacle, and one which leaves the

34) MS. 4282/125-6. Collins to DX. Feb. 28, 1716 /1717/. Collins dates his letters carelessly, as in this case, where another would put 1716/17.

35) The Collins letters as a whole convey a good impression of the social side of their relationship. Toland is usually referred to mysteriously as "Mr. T" or "our friend". There is no doubt that Toland was a regular visitor; a draft of one of his own letters is dated from Baddow. (Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 4295/39). In an undated note [ca. Oct. 1718] Collins writes: "As to T. you may encourage him to come with you or not, as you judge whether it will be agreeable to Mr. de Sallengre." MS. 4282/226.

impression that Marchand's gibe was not far from the truth. The refugee certainly enjoyed the fruits of patronage, without the humiliations. There was no condescension here, no clinging to the coat-tails of the great, no fawning round a "Milord" - even Milord Shaftesbury - with barely a sou to keep starvation at bay. For the first time since his arrival in England, Des Maizeaux must have felt almost satisfied with his lot. With Anthony Collins, he found genuine friendship and good fellowship, the strong meat of philosophical talk on equal terms, and the freedom of a library that any man of letters would envy. This was a compensation for the penurious years of tutoring, the arguments with Mortier, the miseries of illness and pension-hunting; it was almost a consolation for the permanent post which never came. There is no doubt that Des Maizeaux was appreciated by a man of great discernment and unquestioned integrity, and Collins' letters to him reveal so cordial a friendship that it becomes necessary to enquire more closely into the precise nature of the bond between these two men of different race and circumstances.

In the first place, Des Maizeaux welcomed the opportunity for work which Collins' house and library afforded him, and this is certainly a vital point, for these long months among the green fields of Essex were not all passed

in coursing and country amusements. The Frenchman was busy with his own projects, and especially with his cherished dream of an English equivalent of Bayle's Dictionary. This involved the study of the great men and thinkers of his adopted country - and in the meantime, Collins also had some interesting matters in hand.

"This Des Maizeux is a great man with those who are pleased to be called Freethinkers, particularly with Mr. Anthony Collins - collects passages out of books for their writings". 36)

So noted the Earl of Oxford, and in doing so gave a pointer which leads to a better understanding of Des Maizeux's relations with Collins, and possibly with other freethinkers. Collins had much to offer Des Maizeux, and the sarcastic Bentley might well call him "the Maecenas of the New Club". But the giving was not all on the one side, as is indicated by Collins' letters to Des Maizeux - for it is not the least of the misfortunes of Des Maizeux's historians that there exists but one insignificant draft of a note from Des Maizeux to the freethinker. The fact that he spent so much time at Collins' house has meant, too, that most of the matters which engaged their joint attention never

36) Quoted by Isaac D'Israeli in his account of Dr. and Collins' M.S. Curiosities of Literature, 12th ed. 1841, pp.378-382. The M.S. source of this observation is unknown.

figured in any correspondence. It would undoubtedly be most interesting if there could have been any record of the work done at Baddow Hall, of what matters were discussed, and of what pluts were hatched between these ~~xxx~~^{two}, in the privacy of Essex, and far from Des Maizeaux's usual coffee-house haunts. It is certain that the refugee's visits were not unconnected with Collins' work, but although the historians of English deism, in depicting the main lines and aspects of the controversies, have sometimes noted this odd friendship, they have not, apparently, thought it worth while to enquire whether there was more to it than a general sympathy of opinion. Indeed, it is difficult to approach the question, for during the period of Collins' earlier works there is no adequate documentary evidence to guide the enquirer. While seeking a somewhat later starting point for investigation, it should, however, be remembered that the two men were friends before Collins published anything, and that Des Maizeaux was even then obtaining books for Collins, from Holland.

The first of the freethinker's works concerning which there is anything of interest to be gleaned from the letters, is the famous Philosophical Inquiry concerning Human Liberty, the most notable of his metaphysical writings, first published in 1715 and subsequently revised for reprinting in 1717. The question of Free Will and Determinism was, of course, anything but a novelty, and in discussing it Collins

was following his hero Locke. He had, in fact, already discussed it in his first work, the Essay concerning the Use of Reason, and again, to some extent, in the Discourse of Freethinking, while his last published work was to be a short pamphlet on the same theme. But the importance of this short Inquiry is such that Des Maizeaux's interest in it is well worth attention. A modern authority, J. M. Robertson, opposes Sir Leslie Stephen in proclaiming it to be unsurpassed as a statement of the case for determinism³⁷⁾; Dugald Stewart considered that it contained the germ of all subsequent writing on the subject³⁸⁾; Priestley admitted that he first learned from it the belief in the doctrine of Necessity³⁹⁾; and most important of all, it was the work which finally converted Voltaire to the determinist view, and to which he paid a famous tribute in Le Philosophe Ignorant⁴⁰⁾. It forms part of the controversy with Samuel Clarke

37) A Short History of Freethought 3rd Ed. Vol. II. p. 156.

38) In his Dissertation on Philosophy, prefixed to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 7th Ed.

39) See Prof. Basil Willey's Eighteenth Century Background, p. 185, concerning "Priestley and the Socinian moon-light".

40) Le Philosophe Ignorant. XIII. "Suis-je-libre ?" In this, one of numerous tributes to Collins, Voltaire says: "Je lus des Scolastiques, je fus comme eux dans les ténèbres; je lus Locke, et j'aperçus des traits de lumière; je lus le Traité de Collins, qui me parut Locke perfectionné, et je n'ai jamais rien lu depuis qui m'ait donné un nouveau degré de connaissance."

over the question of the soul, and Des Maizeaux's connection with the treatise comes to light in two ways, and, as it were, on two planes.

One obvious point to note is that it was Des Maizeaux who first published a French version of it in his Recueil de diverses piéces sur la philosophie, in 1720, and it has been established beyond reasonable doubt, by Professor Torrey, that Voltaire knew it from this edition 41). It was not, however, translated by Des Maizeaux, but by a friend of himself and Collins, one De Bons, a Frenchman attached to the household of the Earl of Manchester at Lees, a few miles from Collins' house at Hatfield Leverel. Des Maizeaux himself loathed translating, as "un ouvrage servile et pour ainsi dire mécanique" 42), and had some difficulty in finding anyone willing to undertake the work. Finally, and under a promise of secrecy, most of the Recueil was translated by Michel de la Roche, except for this Inquiry, which De Bons attempted in response to repeated pressure by Des Maizeaux. It was thus Des Maizeaux who first made it

40) (continued) The whole question of Voltaire's debt to this treatise is discussed in detail in Joseph Hahn's "Voltaire's Stellung zur Frage der menschlichen Freiheit in ihrem Verhältniß zu Locke und Collins", and in Prof. Torrey's Voltaire and the English Deists. p. 25 et seq.

41) Torrey, op. cit. p.35.

42) MS. 4289/189-190; draft letter.

available to

the ordinary French reader, but his connection with the English version is of more immediate interest.

The references to it in Collins' letters are apparently concerned with the 1717 edition, and from them it is clear that part of Des Maizeaux's function in this alliance was to supervise the practical side of the actual publication and distribution of the freethinker's works. In a letter dated February 9, 1716 [1717] Collins wrote : -

"I am much obliged to you for the pains you have taken in relation to my book, which if there be anything valuable in it is in a great measure owing to you; but am sorry the Negligence of the Printer has made you take so many journeys into the city and spend so much time there. I shall rejoice at all opportunity to show my gratitude to you for all favours." 43)

From another letter written a few days later, it appears that Des Maizeaux also revised the work.

"I am extremely oblig'd to you for the pains you have taken about my book, and the concern you have that I should be exact. Your translation of Mr. Bayle is as it should be; and you have done well to put it among the errata." 44)

This is significant especially for its reflection upon Collins' command of French, a point which will be seen to assume increasing importance. A further letter of the same period refers to the possibility of asking La Roche to translate the treatise for the proposed Recueil, and

43) MS. 4282/123-4. Collins to DM. Feb. 9.1716 [1717].

44) MS. 4282/125-6. Collins to DM. Feb.28.1716 [1717].

involves Des Maizeaux in the business of distributing Collins' "dangerous" literature. The freethinker sends 130 copies of the Discourse to a bookseller, Ranew Robinson, and gives Des Maizeaux a free hand to fix the retail price, and to distribute copies to his friends, adding :

"Pray caution Mr. Robinson never to have above 3 or 4 of my Books of Freethinking to lye in his Shop at a time, and not to publish them in any publick manner." 45)

Even in tolerant England the freethinkers ran some risk, and Des Maizeaux was meddling in dangerous matters. So far, however, the evidence has established only that he was acting as Collins' agent in London, and that he worked separately on the revision of his work. Later in 1717, however, another letter draws a clearer picture of the Frenchman working with Collins, not, this time, on the text of the Inquiry, but in the preparation of remarks destined to follow it up, after Clarke had replied to the treatise. Mentioning that he had drawn up a rough answer to Clarke, in the form of "remarks", Collins expresses his hope

"in a few days to revise them in such a manner, as that I may begin, when you come down, to transcribe them fair." 46).

Evidently Collins did not like to act without consulting Des Maizeaux and obtaining his approval.

45) MS. 4282/127-8. Collins to DM. April 26. 1717.

46) MS. 4282/137. Collins to DM. July 1. 1717.

The sum of this evidence indicates beyond question that Des Maizeaux was actively co-operating with Collins at the period of the Inquiry. The question now is - was he simply an amanuensis, or did he make any positive contribution to the work? In this connection, the Earl of Oxford's hint that he did supply material for the free-thinker is confirmed by the following remarks from Collins:-

"Your advice in relation to Authors who have maintained the Soul to have in it a principle of action, is very just, I had been searching before upon that head, but what I have found and the use I shall make of it, I reserve for our conversation together"

47)

In this and other discussions of arguments advanced by Collins' opponents, there is a clear case to confirm Des Maizeaux's general position as Collins' confidant ⁴⁸⁾, and to amplify what has already been seen of his minor activities concerning the actual publication of the Inquiry. Whether he contributed much to the thought or argument of the piece is, of course, another matter, and one which is scarcely susceptible of proof. At this point, however, the testimony of the translator, De Bons, may be brought

47) MS. 4282/131-2. Collins to DM. May 7. 1717.

48) One odd letter of Collins, in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, is full of controversial and literary discussion, and lists books borrowed by DM. Bøll. Brevs. V 4^o 191.

in. De Bons did not share Collins' opinions, and was reluctant to believe that he was also the author of the Discourse of Freethinking. The Inquiry was his first venture in translating, undertaken at the urgent behest of Des Maizeaux, and he admitted that he was hampered in the work through not being convinced by Collins' arguments.

"Je ne m'estois point senti encor convaincu par ses arguments, et n'avois point encore fait cette expérience sur laquelle il compte tant pour établir son système. Je ne sçay mesme si sans vous il en seroit jamais venu à bout. Quoy qu'il en soit, il n'est rien de si seur que c'est à vous seul qu'il a l'obligation du consentement que je donne à ses opinions." 49)

The clear suggestion here that Des Maizeaux helped Collins to work out his argument is not lightly to be rejected, for De Bons was living within a few miles of Collins, and as the two households were on visiting terms, he must have had considerable and intimate knowledge of the relationship of Des Maizeaux and Collins. In the light of this additional evidence, Collins' admission that the value of the Inquiry was largely owing to his friend, acquires a significance beyond the matters of mere revision and correction to which it might be presumed at first to refer.

Des Maizeaux was certainly interested in the vexed question of free-will and predestination, then made so

49) MS. 4281/284-5. De Bons to DM. May 29, 1717.

topical by the writings of Bayle, King and others. In 1700, for example, Benjamin Furly, writing to the refugee on a point of scriptural interpretation, observed : -

"Je vois que vous n'êtes pas moins embarrassé des difficultés de la prédestination que ne fut Mr. Jàrieu." 50)

Moreover, shortly before Des Maizeaux entered the Geneva academy, that institution had been split over this very problem which occasioned a sharp controversy between Des Maizeaux's own professor Louis Tronchin, and François Turretini, who died in 1687. Is it, one wonders, possible that Collins' great contribution to the "Liberty and Necessity" argument contains echoes of a long-dead war in Geneva? It is useless, of course, to seek textual indications that Collins was helped by Des Maizeaux in formulating his argument, or evidence to support any wild idea that the Frenchman wrote the treatise or part of it, as it stands. Most of his writings are extremely prolix, but Collins' Inquiry is a crisp, brilliant argument, clearly bearing the stamp of the author's early legal background and training. It may be recalled, however, that the controversy with Jaquelot in the République des Lettres proved Des Maizeaux's ability to handle logical argument, and he may well have helped Collins in this work. The available evidence suggests, in fact, that he did.

50) MS. 4283/268. Furly to DM. Feb. 15. 1701.

Although the text of the Inquiry cannot in itself be expected to furnish proof of any creative contribution from Des Maizeaux, it is none the less interesting when reviewed with an eye to possible collaboration. It is at least suggestive, and it is perhaps no exaggeration to claim that there are probably some traces of Des Maizeaux's handiwork in the sources, notes, references and general background. There is a noticeable tendency to make general references to French authorities such as Gassendi, Descartes, Bayle and Fontenelle, and one gibe at the obscurity of Malebranche is extracted from a letter by Bayle to Les Maizeaux, which had appeared in the 1714 edition of Bayle's Letters⁵¹⁾. The Inquiry does not call for extensive documentation, but among the few notes are specific references to "the acute and penetrating Mr. Bayle", to Placette, and, on six occasions, to Le Clerc's Bibliothèque Choisie. More interesting than this is the occurrence of one or two curious sounding notes such as "Jaquelot sur l'exist. de Dieu"⁵²⁾ and a reference to the Journalists of Paris (i.e. the Journal des sçavants) for "mois de mars 1705"⁵³⁾. These are worth remembering, and one observes all

51) Inquiry 1717 ed. p. 10.

52) ibid. p. 15.

53) ibid. p. 29.

a translation from a rare Latin work by the Italian Bernard Cohn - Labyrinths concerning Free-Will and Predestination - "printed at Basil", which seems exactly the type of material which Des Maizeaux might be thought to have contributed.

These small points are, of course, only incidental, and in no way affect Collins' six-point argument in favour of the conception of man as a "necessary agent". The work is certainly the best of Collins' speculative, as opposed to critical, writings, and would stand without any documentary background at all. In fact, Collins' last pamphlet on the subject, published in 1729, contains no documentation, and might be compared with the Inquiry to show the different appearance of Collins' work when Des Maizeaux was not involved as well. Although these vague indications of Des Maizeaux's presence in the background of the Inquiry are not of great intrinsic importance, they do tend to confirm the other documentary evidence, and in view of later developments are worth bearing in mind as a starting-point for a line of further investigation. Before leaving the subject of the Inquiry, it may be noted that there is one further indication of Des Maizeaux's concern for this work, namely the extent and manner of the publicity given to it in the French journals. Discussion of this is best deferred, however, since it belongs to another aspect of the association of Collins and Des Maizeaux.

After the publication of the Inquiry and the promotion by Des Maizeaux of a French version, there seems to have been a lull in the joint literary activity of the two men. But the year 1720, when the Inquiry finally appeared in the Recueil de Pièces sur la Philosophie, also brought the publication of a Collection of several pieces by Locke, some of them for the first time. This collection was dedicated to Hugh Wrottesley, a mutual friend of Collins and Des Maizeaux, whose sister later became Collins' second wife. Nominally it was published by Des Maizeaux, who doubtless received any profits from the book, but Collins was the moving spirit behind it, and furnished much of the material, including Locke's letters to him. He also tried unsuccessfully to obtain for Des Maizeaux some of Locke's manuscripts in the possession of Sir Peter King⁵⁴⁾. Among the other pieces printed by Des Maizeaux were the Constitutions of Carolina, the Elements of Natural Philosophy and other correspondence. It was a useful little collection but apart from linking Des Maizeaux with the history of the publication of Locke's works, it is of interest for the part it played in the development of a regrettable quarrel between Collins and Coste, during the course of which Des Maizeaux was drawn in on the side of Collins. The details

54) MS. 4282/161. Collins to DM. Feb. 28, 1719 and MS. 4282/228, undated.

of the dispute are far from clear, but it was the memory of Locke which, after helping to bind this triumvirate together, also broke it up ⁵⁵⁾. Collins, a passionate defender of Locke, was moved to anger against Coste and Le Clerc

"who both servily flatter'd him during his life and made panegyrics upon him immediately after his death." ⁵⁶⁾

Collins now accused them of spreading falsehoods and calumnies concerning the dead philosopher, although the precise grounds for the accusation are uncertain. There is a suggestion that Collins was ill-disposed towards Coste from the time of his second visit to Holland in 1713; the dispute was certainly in being by 1717, although Des Maizeaux may not have been involved until the publication of the Locke collection. This contained as its preface a

55) Some details of the dispute are given by Charles Bastide in the Bulletin Vol. LVII. 1908. p.526 et seq. in an article entitled Pierre Coste d'après quelques lettres inédites. This is based on the De la Motte papers in the Bibliothèque du Protestantisme Français (MS. 295). Coste denied that he had libelled Locke; according to Bastide, the dispute was caused through confusion with an unknown "M. de la Coste" referred to in Trévoux, May 1707. If this were so, however, it is curious that the dispute should have taken so long to come to a head.

56) MS. 4282/125-6. Collins to DM. Feb. 23. 1716 [1717/

public attack upon Coste, in the form of a reprint of the latter's éloge of Locke, which had appeared in Nouvelles de la République des Lettres in 1708, followed by a letter written by Collins, condemning Coste's later conduct ⁵⁷⁾. As the publisher of these pieces, Des Maizeaux exposed himself to strong censure by the refugees who were loyal to Coste, including De la Motte, and could make but a poor defence. Des Maizeaux and Coste were reconciled some years later, and the former made the following admission to De la Motte :

"La vérité est que j'ai toujours été porté à rendre justice à Mr. C/oste/, et à lui être utile si j'en avois été capable. Je me suis même abstenu de faire certaines remarques sur ces Ecrits." ⁵⁸⁾

The fact was that he had not the slightest desire to quarrel with Coste, but was forced into it through his obligations to Collins. De la Motte remarked, in fact, that Des Maizeaux had at one time endorsed Coste's criticisms of the character of Locke ⁵⁹⁾, and this is borne out to some extent by an early letter from Des Maizeaux to Shaftesbury ⁶⁰⁾.

57) The Character of Mr. Locke by Mr. Peter Coste with a letter relating to that Character and to the Author of it. The MS. exists, in Collins' handwriting MS.4212/182-3 174-5.

58) MS. 4289/161 draft letter from DM. to De la Motte. Sept. 14. 1725. - MS. 4289/161 is a draft of another unhappy letter on the subject. Oct. 4. 1720.

59) MS. 4286/248. De la Motte to DM. Sept. 20. 1723. "Quand M. Coste auroit dit de Mr. Locke ce qu'on prétend qu'il a dit, n'auroit-il pas dit ce que tous

This aspect of the Locke collection is not altogether creditable to Des Maizeaux, but he was obviously acting merely as the tool of Collins, whose motives were genuine enough, if a trifle hasty, and who, since he paid the piper was entitled to call the tune. Besides giving this edition of Locke, Des Maizeaux appears also to have projected a biography of him, but, like other schemes, it came to nothing ⁶¹⁾.

After 1720, Des Maizeaux's association with Collins was hampered by various circumstances, although he continued to visit Baddow Hall. He was now in poor health again, and forced to revisit Bath. He also seems to have spent some

597 (continued)

les honnêtes gens en ont dit ? Ne me l'avez-vous pas écrit en autant de termes peu de tems après la mort de M. Locke ? vous, qui estimiez M. Locke avec tout le monde comme un habile homme, mais qui n'aviez pas la même idée de son cœur." De la Motte says that Collins too criticized Locke while in Holland.

60) Public Record Office. Shaftesbury Papers V. B11e.27. DM. to Shaftesbury Feb.10. 1705. DM. criticizes Locke for "la manière bizarre dont il a disposé de son bien." There seems to have been a feeling that Locke should have made a substantial bequest to Coste, who had served him well as a translator.

61) MS. 4282/188. Collins to DM. March 9. 1721/2. "How goes on Mr. Locke's Life ? I expected you here to write it."

time in Gloucestershire as the guest of John Dutton, who had recently succeeded to the baronetcy. Collins' life was also affected, first by the tragic death of his son in 1723, when, it may be noted, Des Maizeaux was staying down at Baddow on his own, and later, by his second marriage in 1724. These events may have curtailed the time spent together by the two friends, and for the Frenchman, Collins' marriage, in particular, was probably not altogether a subject for rejoicing, since it was bound to affect his host's way of life. Yet as far as their literary activities were concerned, these changes were but a prelude to what must have been the most important period of their co-operation.

The year 1724 is an important one in the story of Collins. It saw first the publication of an Historical and Critical Essay on the 39 Articles, following the line of Priestcraft in Perfection. Here again, the background is purely English, and there is no evidence to connect Des Maizeaux with the work, except, possibly, a reference in one of Collins' letters to its publisher Franklin, who reported Des Maizeaux's return from another visit to Bath⁶². It is probable that the Frenchman again took charge of the

62) MS. 4282/206. Collins to M. Dec. 1. 1724.

publication, but there is no actual proof. The same year, however, gives evidence of another scheme which the free-thinker had in hand, and which, although it proved abortive, as far as can be established, serves as an interesting illustration of the conspiratorial nature of the relationship of Collins and Des Maizeaux. On August 28 Collins wrote : -

"I will not wait your coming hither to communicate to you in general the project I had formed in your behalf. The booksellers, who had agreed with me to print Dodd's Dictionary, have declined that work out of an apprehension of danger, as they wrote me word; and they have sent me the Manuscript by Mr. Dodd's direction, who has seen their letter of exceptions. I have had several projects in my mind concerning the printing it, being very much concerned that so curious a book should be, as it will be, lost, if some speedy care be not taken about it, or if it comes again into the hands of Mr. Dodd. I have drawn up Proposals for printing it by subscription, and in those Proposals say at the end of the Title, 'publish'd by a Protestant, who has added notes, to supply and render more perfect several of the Articles, and to correct and confute divers errors, and particularly such as are calculated to serve the cause of Popery and prejudice men against the Protestant Religion? I will only say to you at present, that I design you for the Protestant Editor; that I myself can supply you with many new memoirs, and also with several confutations; that the additions need not amount to above the quantity of a three or four shilling book; that the profit shall be all yours, after Mr. Dodd is considered." 63)

63) MS. 4282/204-5. Collins to DM. Aug. 28. 1724.

In forming this project, Collins anticipated that subscriptions would be raised from Catholics and "curious people".

The "Mr. Dodd" referred to here is presumably Charles Dodd, a Catholic divine otherwise known as Hugh Tootell. Trained in Paris and Douai, he wrote a voluminous Church History of England, and a work against the Jesuits reminiscent of Pascal. But the Dictionary mentioned by Collins was probably the Historical and Critical Dictionary of Catholics from 1500 to 1688, differing from the Church History, and never printed⁶⁴⁾. In December 1724 Collins refers again to "the work of the Popish Priest"⁶⁵⁾, who had printed new proposals, and another undated note appears to refer to the same affair, although this is not certain⁶⁶⁾. This mentions a pamphlet, which Collins does not wish to distribute "till the great book is ready to appear". The

64) The report of the Historical MSS. Commission listed part of the MS. of this dictionary among the Spanish Place MSS. of the Catholic Chapter of London, before their removal to Westminster. As a result of circumstances arising from the war, this cannot now be traced, so the opportunity of examining it for signs of "editing" has unfortunately been lost.

65) MS. 4282/200. Collins to DM. Dec. 1. 1724.

66) MS. 4282/239. Collins to DM. probably 1724.

"great Book" is probably Dodd's Dictionary, and in that case, the pamphlet might be a brief work by Dodd, published in 1724, and entitled Cartamen Utriusque Ecclesiae, containing a neatly balanced list of Catholic and Protestant controversialists, "with an Historical Idea of the Politick attempts of both parties in every Reign, in order to support their respective interests". Some frank comments on these "politick attempts" read curiously from a Catholic divine, and Collins' interest in Dodd and his works was obviously roused by an opportunity to publish material likely to add to the armoury of the anticlerical groups. The whole affair, although unsuccessful, indicates the extent to which Des Maizeux was secretly committed to the cause.

1724 is noteworthy above all for the publication of another, and perhaps the greatest, of Collins' bombshells; this time it was the famous Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion. This book, characterized by Warburton as one of the most plausible attacks ever made against the Christian religion, marked the final stage of Collins' evolution as a critical deist, after the publication of notable works of different categories, i.e. a plea for rationalism, some purely metaphysical writings, and a specific attack on "priestcraft". This new assault on the basis of Christianity from the angle of the prophecies was written in reply to the Essay towards restoring the true

text of the Old Testament, by the intensely sincere, but somewhat eccentric Whiston. Since it is of great interest for this account of Des Maizeaux, and some attention must be paid to the text, its plan may be briefly outlined. It begins with a prefatory Apology for Mr. Whiston's Liberty of Writing, in which Collins naturally upholds Whiston's right to his own opinion and freedom to express it. The main text is divided into two parts; the first insists on the fulfilment of the prophecies as the essential basis of Christianity, and Collins maintains that this fulfilment cannot be literal, but must be, if anything, a matter of allegorical interpretation. He agrees, in fact, with Whiston that the events do not confirm literal fulfilment of the prophecies according to the existing text of the Old Testament but devotes the second part of his book to proving that Whiston's attempts at "restoration" are nothing but well-intentioned nonsense. His conclusion gives an ironical "account of Mr. Whiston himself" as "a great mathematician, philosopher and Divine, a most acute person, a good Christian, the reverse of most other Divines, a zealous member of the Church of England and - deficient in Judgement In theory, Collins attacks, not the notion that the existing Old Testament text is corrupt, but Whiston's belief that it can be restored; in effect, Collins is arguing that the essential basis of the Christian faith is no basis at all.

It is not surprising that this work caused the greatest upheaval prior to that over Tindal's Christianity Old as the Creation. Apart from the plausibility of the attack, its importance lies also in the systematic and scholarly way in which it is carried out; it is in short, a work of real critical weight, whose characteristics and impact are well summed up by Lechler.

"Die Schrift zeigte soviel Gelehrsamkeit und war meistens so einleuchtend und überzeugend geschrieben, die Exegese war so unbefangen und treffend, was er wirklich sagte, war so klar, und was er sagen zu wollen schien, war so kühn und gefährlich, daß man erschrock und daß Jeder glaubte, herbeieilen zu müssen, um das Christentum zu stützen und zu halten." 67)

That, it may be asked, has this to do with Des Maizeaux? Bearing in mind the evidence already cited in connection with the background of the Inquiry, it is logical to look for some similar indications of Des Maizeaux's presence, in the case of the Grounds and Reasons. Unfortunately there is a gap in the correspondence, and no first-hand documentary evidence to help the enquiry. This deficiency is made good, however, by a contemporary reference which, although not positive, gives a clear lead to investigation on the lines followed in the case of the Inquiry concerning Human Liberty. It occurs in a hostile criticism of the Grounds and Reasons

67) Geschichte des Englischen Deismus. 1841. p. 275.

by Armand de la Chapelle, in his Bibliothèque Angloise.

La Chapelle was a friend of Des Maizeaux, but, as a clergyman by no means well-disposed towards the deists, and the irony of the following observation is illuminating : -

"L'anonyme (i.e. Collins) tout Anglois qu'il est de naissance, possède bien notre Langue, ou du moins se pique de la posséder. Il cite quantité de nos Auteurs, et quand l'occasion s'en présente, il rapporte exactement les paroles de l'Original, sans qu'il y paroisse rien d'étrange. Il est même assez singulier que les Renvois à des ouvrages Latins se trouvent ici en François. Un autre, par exemple, qui voudroit indiquer quelque endroit du Livre de Cunaeus de Republica Hebraeorum le marqueroit de la sorte, mais celui-ci, citant cette Pièce de l'Edition de Saumur (p.40, 47) dit dans son renvoi 'Cunaeus dans sa République des Hébreux L.3 C.8 Vol. I p.376.'" 68)

The inference is unmistakeable; La Chapelle, who from other remarks in the same article, obviously knew Collins to be the anonymous author of the Grounds and Reasons, also obviously knew that he was abetted by Des Maizeaux - their friendship being no secret - and is here gently exposing signs of a collaboration. This provocative observation could not go unheeded, and in fact it drew from Collins some bitter words to Des Maizeaux regarding La Chapelle - "an incorrigible malicious Priest", and his journal full of "most egregious nonsense" 69). La Chapelle was certainly bent on discrediting the Grounds and Reasons as much as possible, for the

68) Bibl. Angl. 1724. Vol. XI. Pt.1. Art.3. pp.96-97.

69) MS. 4282/208-9. Collins to DM. Feb.3. 1724 [1725]

same issue of the Bibliothèque Angloise gave publicity to Whiston's reply, and accused Collins (without naming him, of course) of having betrayed Whiston's friendship ⁷⁰). This in turn brought forth a refutation, and an attack on Whiston's "violence" from some person, unnamed except as a friend of La Chapelle, and there can scarcely be any doubt that this was Des Maizeaux, acting on behalf of Collins ⁷¹).

It cannot often happen that the footnotes of a famous book have a completely separate intrinsic interest, but as one follows the lead given by La Chapelle, the critical background of Collins' book becomes suddenly exciting, and for the purposes of this enquiry into Des Maizeaux's activities, almost more interesting than the text itself. In fact, La Chapelle might well be moved to comment on the French flavour about the Grounds and Reasons. A preoccupation with French affairs is revealed faintly even in the Preface, which in referring to the authority of the pulpit, quotes Boileau's

"C'est là que bien ou mal on a droit de tout dire" ⁷²).

Then comes an assertion that

"Transubstantiation would pass in France without an

70) Bibl. Angl. 1724. Vol. XI. Pt.1. p. 283.

71) Bibl. Angl. Vol. XII. Pt.1. p. 243. Art.8.

72) Grounds and Reasons. 1724. p. XIII.

attack on it, if men could freely write against it" 73).
In the main text there is a dig at Jurieu, a favourite
victim of Des Maizeaux in his capacity as Bayle's biographer⁷.
These things, however, are but tiny straws; the real interest
lies in the edifice of footnotes which ornaments Collins'
book. The following selection reads curiously, to say the
least, in the first edition of an English book which purports
to be, and has been accepted as, the work of an English
country gentleman, however learned 75).

- 1) "Hist. de l'Acad. Royale des Sciences, An. 1703,
p. 22, 23 de l'Edition d'Holland." (preface p. VII)
- 2) "Philos. Transac. Ann. 1700" (page 23)
- 3) "c) Luke 2. 38. d) Le Clerc sur l'endroit" (p.33)
- 4) "Cuneus dans sa République des Hébreux L.3 c.3" (page 40)
- 5) "Acts 26.6; 7. 22, 23, 24. Le Clerc sur cet endroit"
(page 172)
- 6) "Dupin. Dissert. Prelim. sur la Bible. l.i. c.4 p.487
le note." (page 210)

These notes are purely French in form; the following is a
mixture : -

- 7) "see also Lenfant. Preface sur son Nov. Test.p.3"
(page 88)

Occasionally an English note reveals a definite gallicism,

73) Grounds and Reasons, 1724. p. XVIII.

74) ibid. p.19.

75) The following references are all to the 1724 edition.

such as : -

- 8) "Casanbon of Enthusiasm" (page XXIV)
- 9) "Shaftsbury's Letter of Enthusiasm" (page XXX).

But Collins does not confine himself to citing French or Latin works; on page 82 of the Grounds and Reasons he refers to Jewish attacks on the Christian religion, and gives a long note on three Spanish manuscripts by Jews, namely Fortificacion de la Fe, Providencia Divina de Dios con Israel, by Saul Levi Mortera, and Preveniciones Divinas contra la vana Ydolatria de los Gentos, by Isaac Orobio de Castro. It so happens that among the "buried" manuscript material by Des Maizeaux in the British Museum, there are two pieces of evidence to connect Des Maizeaux with these particular references in Collins' book. One is a set of notes on all three manuscripts, which reveal that Collins acquired them in Holland ⁷⁶⁾. Unfortunately for the purposes of this enquiry, these notes were clearly written after the publication of the Grounds and Reasons, and although similar to the printed notes, cannot be considered as originals, but are more in the nature of copies. The second piece of evidence consists of nine pages of actual transcriptions in Spanish from Orobio's Preveniciones Divinas, and the Fortificacion de la Fe, undoubtedly in Des Maizeaux's hand-

76) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4254/ 10-11.

writing ⁷⁷⁾. It is not certain whether Collins knew Spanish. He possessed a number of Spanish books on religious matters, and also a grammar, but it certainly appears more likely that of the two men Des Maizeaux was the Spanish expert. These lost scraps of notes among the British Birch MSS. do at least show beyond doubt that Des Maizeaux worked on this rare material in Collins' possession, and it could hardly have been for his own literary projects.

Turning from these details to more general observations on the Grounds and Reasons, the high proportion of references to French authorities will impress any careful reader, as it impressed La Chapelle. There are, for example, many notes referring to material in the French periodicals, notably Le Clerc's Bibliothèque Choisie, and the general list of Collins' authorities includes Casanbon, Le Clerc, Jurieu, Gervaise, Tachard, Delon, Huet, Dupin, Lamy, Allix, Pezron, Montfaucon, Martineau, Toinard and Basnage. The outstanding case is that of Richard Simon, to whose writings there are nearly fifty references, particularly to his critical histories of the Old and New Testaments, and, it may be noted, to French editions, although English translations existed. It may be observed, too, that this interest in Simon is echoed in Des Maizeaux's correspondence, and that

77) Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 4257/74-81, 85.

two or three years after the Grounds and Reasons, he was involved in the re-publications of Simon's letters 78).

The text of Collins' Grounds and Reasons provides, then a set of most interesting facts from which to advance conjectures. In view of the lack of actual documentary evidence in the Collins letters, however, it is best to draw no conclusions before examining the freethinker's second attack on the prophecies, in The Scheme of Literal Prophecy Considered, written after the first book had drawn at least 35 replies, notably an attack by Chandler, Bishop of Lichfield, and, of course, a defence by Whiston of his original point of view. After the gibe by La Chapelle, one would scarcely expect the scheme to provide a repetition of the circumstances which led to it. But, incredible though it might seem, they are in fact repeated, although it is indeed less easy to find instances of gallicisms. Nevertheless, the same preoccupation with French sources is clearly visible, including Simon - once more the leading example - Dupin, Basnage, Le Clerc, Scaliger, Blondel, Fontenelle, Bossuet, Lenfant, Arnauld, Fleury etc. And once more there are a few unquestionably French notes, of which the following are examples from the first edition, of 1726.

1) "Simon. Supplement à Leon de Modene" (page 24)

78) MS. 4285/270-71. P. Mortier to IM. Dec. 1727-Jan. 1728.

- 2) "See Lenfant. Pref. devant son Nouv. Testament."
(page 240)

and, as a prize specimen,

- 3) "Voyez la preface de Mr. Barbeyrac devant son
Puffendorf" (page 367).

The notes also provide variations of "ad locum", "sur l'endroit" and "on the place", when dealing with commentaries on the Scriptures.

If the Scheme is less rich in internal evidence, there is a compensating factor in a certain amount of documentary evidence in Des Maizeaux's correspondence, although unfortunately none of it refers to the period of the actual composition of the work, whose preface is dated November 1725. In fact, in all the refugee's correspondence there are scarcely a dozen letters belonging to 1725, and they include only two from Collins, one written in the spring, and the other in the autumn. It is fairly safe to assume that at some point during the year Des Maizeaux was at Eddow, where his activities may be imagined. Letters of Collins and De la Motte show beyond doubt that the Scheme was printed in Holland by Thomas Johnson ⁷⁹⁾, of whom more will be heard, and that it was revised by Des Maizeaux. The first edition bears the publisher's initials T.J., and the false rubric of London, and it must be stressed that the curious notes mentioned above occur in the original edition, as well as in that of

79) MS. 4286/280-81. De la Motte to IM. Oct. 25. 1726.

1727, although the pagination varies in the two editions.

On June 13, 1726, Collins wrote to Des Maizeaux :

"You say you have revised K, but the last half-sheet
w'ch I rec'd was J. I wonder what follows K should
require a fortnight's stay from you for to correct." 80

A further letter, dated October 17, mentions parcels expected from Johnson at The Hague, which Des Maizeaux is to collect and leave at Collins' town-house⁸¹⁾. These must certainly be references to proofs and completed copies of the Scheme, and they establish Des Maizeaux's connection with the book at least during the period of printing. It is significant, too, that in the following August Collins should ask the Frenchman how the London edition of the Scheme has sold, and if there has been more than one edition⁸²⁾. This indicates yet again that Collins was indifferent to the business side of his publications, and that these matters were normally handled by Des Maizeaux.

The Scheme of Literal Prophecy was the last of Collins' major works, and the next stage in the critical attack on Christianity, the argument from miracles, which had actually been projected in the Grounds and Reasons, was left to Woolston. There is therefore no later evidence to add to these facts concerning the Inquiry, the Grounds and Reasons,

80) MS. 4282/212-3.

81) MS. 4282/214.

82) MS. 4282/220. Collins to D.M. Aug. 15. 1727.

and the Scheme. If, working backwards, a similar textual examination of Collins' other works is attempted on the lines followed in these three cases, it is soon evident that they do not lend themselves to it, being concerned with purely English matters, or of a speculative rather than a critical nature. An exception may, however, be made in the case of the most famous - the Discourse of Freethinking. Here again, there is no relevant correspondence, although it may be recalled that Collins was very anxious for the company of Des Maizeaux in 1712, when it was presumably being written. The case is obscured further by the probability that Collins himself took charge of publication during his second visit to Holland, at least as far as the second edition was concerned. But the work seems to have been printed first in London, and Des Maizeaux may well have had a hand in it. The text does in fact support this view, within its limitations; one or two odd French sources are used, such as Dupin and Le Clerc, and the Voyages of Savarette, Le Comte and Tachard, and there are several notes which might be taken to indicate the hand of Des Maizeaux, by analogy with the later works. They are

- 1) "Les Césars de Julien par Spanheim" (page 118)
- 2) "Binet du Salut d'Origene p.191" (page 162)
- 3) an Italian quotation from Bonarelli (page 23).

It is certain that Des Maizeaux had some knowledge of Italian, but there is no evidence that the same applies to

Collins. As to the Spanheim reference, it may be noted that Des Maizeaux knew him personally, and quotes from this same work in the Vie de Boileau.⁸³⁾ Apart from these minor points, Collins' scholarship in the Discourse is expressed in citations of Greek and Latin writers, which offer no evidence either of or against co-operation by Des Maizeaux. It is pertinent to add, however, that in his onslaught against the Discourse, the sarcastic Bentley talks of

"the main of the Book, being a Rhapsody of passages out of Old and New Writers, rak'd and scrap'd together by the joint labour of many hands to abuse all religion"

84)

Bentley probably knew what he was talking about, and his opinion is certainly not opposed to the idea that Des Maizeau had a share in the provocative Discourse.

Having gathered together a body of evidence, both textual and documentary, which brings to light some curious but indispe^{ur}ssable facts, it is now time to consider the implications with regard to the real nature of the friendship

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83) There is a note from Baron Spanheim to DM. Oct. 21, 1710 MS. 4288/171. DM. quotes Spanheim's Césars de l'Empereur Julien on p. 312 of the Vie de Boileau. An insignificant detail in itself, it is one of many instances of a preoccupation with the same sources to be found in the writings of Collins and DM.

84) Remarks on a late book intituled Discourse etc.
6th ed. p. 4.

of Collins and Des Maizeaux. It must surely now be admitted that they were not merely friends, but active collaborators, for while it may be argued that the emphasis on French sources in Collins' work proves only what is not disputed—that Collins was exceptionally well-read, it cannot reasonably be maintained that this very English gentleman wrote notes such as "Voyez la Préface de M^r. Barbeyrac devant son Puffendorf" to illustrate his work. As for the sources used, they were certainly in Collins' possession, for the sale-catalogue of his library exists to display what must have been the finest armoury open to the deists. But a number of the works are known to have been obtained through Des Maizeaux and his friends in Holland, and Collins gave the refugee a completely free hand to acquire books which would be of use to either of them. In one of his letters, De la Motte called Des Maizeaux "un vrai furet de bibliothèque"⁸⁵⁾, and this certainly seems to indicate his chief function in the partnership with Collins. He must have spent much time in ferreting out the allusions and material which help to give the freethinker's works such an impressive façade. In short, Des Maizeaux was a specialist in obscure and learned literature, and as such was able to make effective return for the Hospitality which Collins lavished upon him.

85) MS. 4287/144-5. Feb. 10. 1739.

Leaving the Discourse of Freethinking as offering only a probability, certainty of active collaboration may be admitted in the remaining three major works. There remains, however, the problem of what this collaboration amounts to. It cannot, assuredly, be confined to matters of mere proof-reading, copying and marketing. The occurrence of a large number of references to French sources, while it is suggestive proves nothing, but the incidence of footnotes actually written in French, and the evidence of a few English notes revealing that the writer, although bilingual, still tended to think first in French, is a very different matter. The only possible inference is that Collins did not handle the documentation of his own famous works, but that Des Maizeaux not merely revised, but wrote that part of them. It must again be emphasised that these curiosities are not a question of later editing, but are an integral part of the texts of the original editions. From this it would seem that Collins could not even have read through them before the manuscripts went to the printer. It is just conceivable that the presence of these notes could owe something to the fact that the works were printed surreptitiously in Holland, where the printers' readers were often French, but this is hardly likely, especially as the printer himself was English. An explanation of this sort, which might be acceptable in the case of a single work, is altogether too much of a coincidence when applied to a series. There is, moreover, nothing to suggest that these

particular notes were furnished by any other hand than the one which provided all the documentation. Des Maizeaux provides the only sound and logical explanation; he was bilingual, his correspondence shows that he co-operated with Collins, and this textual evidence completes an overwhelming case for his full collaboration with the freethinker.

Before attempting to assess its real extent, it must still be noted that the textual evidence extends only to the secondary sources, and the organization of a corroborative critical apparatus, and that in one case, that of the Inquiry concerning Human Liberty, this is only of trifling importance. The potential importance of Des Maizeaux's contribution to the Discourse of Freethinking is greater, but the real interest of the collaboration concerns above all the two attacks on the prophecies, i.e. Collins' essential work as a critical deist. It is significant that his emergence as a genuine critic of the Scriptures dates only from the time of the proved intimacy of the two men. Unlike the Inquiry, the Grounds and Reasons and the Scheme both stand or fall on their critical content, and in fact, some of the observations on the prophecies have never been satisfactorily answered. Both are books of real weight, revealing a profound knowledge of the subject, and although the actual proofs of Des Maizeaux's participation concern only a facade of documentation, one cannot reject the probability that the collusion went beyond that. Discussion of the conjectural aspects of this collaboration

inevitably leads to dangerous ground, where assumptions are not permissible. In effect, however, one clear question poses itself; if collusion has been proved in the matter of secondary sources, is it not probable that it extended also to the primary criticism of the Scriptures themselves ? Although it is not a point which can be proved by documentary or textual evidence, this one leading question is matched by one outstanding fact - that of these two men it was Des Maizeaux who had received the long theological training which is normally to be considered as an essential preparation for biblical criticism. He had not turned his back on the Church until he had spent long years in acquiring a specialist's knowledge, and had even, on the evidence of his testimonials, displayed more than average competence. By contrast, Collins must be considered, after all, as an amateur; after obtaining a sound general education at Cambridge, he had studied law. That, admittedly, does not imply that Collins was ignorant of these special matters; far from it, in fact. But at this stage of the enquiry it is neither possible nor justifiable to overlook these facts, and with them the probability that Des Maizeaux also helped the freethinker in his researches into the text of the Bible.

The position of Collins has always seemed somewhat curious and unsatisfactory, and in the attitude of such critics as, for example, Sir Leslie Stephen, one senses a kind of tacit surprise at the spectacle of a country gentleman

busy with public affairs and the administration of his estates, meddling so effectively in a specialist's field. It is useless, of course, to try to belittle Collins' learning, in spite of his unfortunate mauling by Bentley over the Discourse of Freethinking, and it is not proposed to set up Des Maizeaux as the brain behind the freethinker. And yet the fact is always there, that Collins did not produce any really effective critical writings until the time of what must now be maintained to be proved collaboration by Des Maizeaux. Collins main tastes, in fact, seem to lie in the direction of philosophical speculation following lines laid down by Locke. His attitude towards religious matters suggests a strong influence by earlier rationalizing divines such as Chillingworth, whose occasional emotionalism is echoed in Collins' loathing of priestcraft and fanaticism. And he is, of course, a lawyer, when it is a question of handling arguments. There is, as it were, a difference in tempo between the smooth logic of the Inquiry, or the forceful anticlericalism of Priestcraft in Perfection, or the really somewhat superficial Discourse of Freethinking, and the patient and laborious textual criticism of the attacks on the prophecies. It is on the latter works that Collins' claims to scholarship have rested, and on the basis of the present enquiry, some re-assessment seems to be called for. In the writer's view, there are grounds for believing that

Collins' penetrating mind devised the attacks, but that much, if not most of the spadework was done by the refugee, who, with his taste for obscure literature, theological training, and sympathy of opinion, was in a position to add considerable weight to Collins' blows. The probable pattern of events was that between them they assembled material for the works, and then planned them together in London or at Baddow Hall; Collins then turned his brilliant mind to the drafting of the actual texts, which reveal a formidable combination of argument and mockery, and abandoned the dull labour of documentation to the Frenchman, who undoubtedly enjoyed that kind of work, and who was then left to see the books through the press.

It is an interesting story of collaboration at the very centre of an important movement in 18th century thought, but the Scheme seems to mark its climax and end. There are a few letters from Collins in 1727, and then silence until 1729. On July 11 of that year, he again wrote to invite Des Maizeaux to Baddow, in a manner which shows that in spite of Collins' marriage and the introduction of new friends to Baddow Hall, his relations with Des Maizeaux had not altered.

"I have a project for you of some work suited to your taste, which may prove of considerable advantage to you, and which you may make a great progress in with me, who am qualify'd to give you assistance therein."

86)

This was probably Collins' last invitation, and Des Maizeaux was unable to accept it because of his work on the long-deferred Vie de Bayle. On December 13, 1729 Collins died, uttering, it is said, the affirmation that

"I have endeavour'd to serve true Religion and my Country, and I hope that I shall go to a place where I shall find others that have done the same." 87)

The last act of the Collins-Des Maizeaux story is a curious one, and not very creditable to the Frenchman, although the facts are not all known. This was the affair of the Collins manuscripts, one of the few episodes of Des Maizeaux's life which are at all well-known. In his will, made in August 1729, the freethinker made three bequests apart from those to his family and servants. To Dean Sykes, who had written against him but had remained his friend, he left £50; to a certain William Henry Thomlinson £200, and to Des Maizeaux

"one hundred pounds and all the manuscripts in my study or elsewhere, except such as relate to the affairs of my family or estate." 88)

The great library was left to his wife, who had it sold a year later, and who, in the meantime, within a fortnight of Collins' death, had also contrived to get possession of the manuscripts. Des Maizeaux's own account of the transaction

87) Brit. Mus. Stowe Ms. 750/441-2. Zachery Pearce to Macolesfield. Dec. 17. 1729.

88) Collins' will is entered at Somerset House. A copy of it was printed by Curll in Pope's Literary Correspondence.

exists in a draft letter to an unknown friend, possibly
Sir Berkeley Lucy.

"Sir, I am very glad to hear you are come to Town, and as you are my best friend, now I have lost Mr. Collins, give me leave to open my heart to you, and to begg your assistance in an affair which highly concerns both Mr. Collins's (your friend) and my own honour and reputation. The case in few words stands thus : Mr. Collins by his last will and Testament left me his Manuscripts. Mr. Thomlinson, who first acquainted me with it, told me that Mrs. Collins shou'd be glad to have them, and I made them over to her, whereupon she was pleased to present me with 50 Guineas. I desir'd her, at ye same time, to take care they shou'd be kept safe and unhurt, which she promis'd to do. This was done on ye 25 of last month. Mr. Thomlinson, who manag'd all this affair, was present.

Now, Sir, having further consider'd that matter, I find that I have done a most wicked thing. I am persuaded that I have betray'd ye trust of a person who for 26 years has given me continual instances of his friendship and confidence. I am convinced that I have acted contrary to ye will and intention of my dear deceas'd friend, shew'd a disregard to the particular mark of esteem he gave me on that occasion: In short that I have forfeited what is dearer to me than my own life, honour and reputation. These melancholy thoughts have made so great an impression on me that I protest to you I can enjoy no rest. I earnestly beseech you, Sir, to represent my unhappy case to Mrs. Collins "

After declaring that he acted with good intentions, since Mrs. Collins had been left the library, and was as obliged as himself to preserve the manuscripts, he concludes :

"I send you ye 5 Guineas I receiv'd, which I do now look upon as ye wages of iniquity, and I desire you to return them to Mrs. Collins " 89)

There is no reason to suppose that Des Maizeaux did not return the money, but he appears not to have received back the manuscripts. This Thomlinson, the mysterious figure in the affair, was a clergyman, like the other beneficiary Sykes, and apparently insinuated himself into the Collins household during the last years of the freethinker's life ⁹⁰⁾. While it is not known what the manuscripts were, it seems probable that Thomlinson used his influence with Collins' widow in order to prevent the possible publication by Des Maizeaux of more controversial deist literature. The Frenchman's conduct was certainly questionable, as he himself so obviously realised. In betraying his trust, he may have acted in a sudden fit of disgust at seeing this clergyman-interloper estimated at double his own worth in money, and that after so many years of faithful service to Collins. There seem to have been many rumours about the matter, and in his edition of so-called Pope's Literary Correspondence, Edmund Curll printed a letter from himself to Sir Berkeley Lucy, mentioning

90) Thomlinson is mentioned by Collins in 1729. In an obituary notice of Collins, certainly by DM. in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée Vol. IV. Pt.1. pp.234-5. both the other legatees are stated to be clergymen.

"a most notorious falsehood propagated with great Diligence throughout the Town, by some of the Sucking Priesthood ; that Mr. Collins had given all his Manuscripts to Mr. Des Maizeaux, and that this Gentleman had been corrupted to destroy them." 91)

He certainly did not destroy them, but their ultimate fate is unknown. At the time when he turned them over to Mrs. Collins, he may have thought that she had a genuine prior claim, but more probably acted from disappointment at not receiving a larger legacy from the freethinker - not altogether without cause, for a very small proportion of Collins' wealth would have relieved the exile's constant financial distress. There is, in fact, evidence to show that when Collins died, Des Maizeaux was in very low water. He was still dependent on his pension for a regular income, and at that time, as usual, payments were at least two years in arrears. This circumstance forced him, a little later, to appeal to Lord Carteret, and on December 20, a week after Collins' death, he had tried to draw his next quarter's pension in advance, and was warned not to do again 92). When Thomlinson approached him five days later, presumably with an offer of 50 guineas

91) Pope's Lit^y. Corr. Vol. IV. p.35 of 2nd pagination series. Also quoted in Therschmid's Critische Lebensgeschichte Anton Collins. p. 189.

92) MS. 4285/5. Mallé (clerk to the pensioners' agent) to DM. Dec. 27. 1729.

for the manuscripts, his feelings may be imagined. In the need of the moment, he succumbed to the temptation, and later regretted it. This, at least, is the most probable explanation of his action, and it is not without its mitigating side. The other refugees also felt that Collins might have been more generous to Des Maizeaux. De la Motte, for example, who had not been impressed by Collins' liberality during his stay in Holland, wrote :

"J'ai appris avec plaisir que Mr. Collins vous a legué 100 pieces. Un zero de plus et sa Bibliotheque au lieu de ses MSS. m'auroit fait plus de plaisir." 93

And Barbeyrae thought that

"Mr. Collins, qui étoit si riche pouvoit bien faire un plus gros legs à Mr. Des Maizeaux Il est à souhaiter que celui-ci garde pour lui ses MSS. qui ne feroient pas apparemment grand bien au Public." 94

They were, perhaps, hardly to blame for contrasting their own lot with that of a more fortunate race.

However, whatever the motive, Des Maizeaux parted with the manuscripts, which were only heard of again on one occasion in 1737, when Mrs. Collins wrote accusing Des Maizeaux of spreading a rumour that she or one of her friends had "betrayed

93) MS. 4283/88. Feb. 7. 1730.

94) Bibliothèque du Protestantisme Français. MS. 295. No 68. Barbeyrae to De la Motte. Feb. 13. 1730. There seems to have been a repetition of the feelings aroused among the refugees by Locke's failure to reward Coste.

some of the Transcripts or MSS. of Mr. Collins into the Bishop of London's hands." 95) This was Bishop Gibson, a fierce opponent of the deists, who had been very much on the offensive against them, and such a report implied high treason on the part of Collins' widow. Des Maizeaux's concern over this accusation is indicated by the existence of no fewer than four draft replies, telling how he himself had heard a rumour to this effect, and professing his respect for Mrs. Collins and for the memory of her husband,

"to whom I have endeavoured to do justice on all occasions, and particularly in the memoirs that have been made use of in the General Dictionary, and I hope my tender concern for his reputation will further appear when I publish his Life." 96)

Mrs. Collins was not satisfied, and to another strong letter from her 97), Des Maizeaux replied with some indignation, and in a manner which, on the whole, does credit to his sincerity and genuine remorse over the betrayal of his trust seven years before.

"You call what I told you was a report, a surmise; you call it, I say, an information, and speak of informers, as if there was a plot laid, wherein I received the information. I thought I had ye honour to be better known to you; Mr. Col. loved me, and esteemed me for my integrity and sincerity, of which he had several proofs; how I have been drawn in to injure him, to forfeit ye good opinion he had of me, and which, were /sic/ he now alive, would deservedly expose me to his utmost contempt, is a

95) MS. 4232/252. Eliz. Collins to DM. March 10. 1737.

96) MS. 4282/247-251. March 14, 1737.

97) MS. 4282/254-5. April 6. 1737.

grief which I shall carry to ye grave. It would be a sort of comfort to me if those who have consented I should be drawn in, were in some measure sensible of their guilt towards so good, kind and generous man."

98)

This is the last echo of the long association of Des Maizeaux and Anthony Collins, and it brings the story to a sorry end. The refugee cannot be acquitted of all guilt in the matter of the manuscripts, but in view of his circumstances at the time and his subsequent remorse, judgment should perhaps be tempered with compassion. Even the critical D'Israeli conceded that "if Des Maizeux lost his honour in this transaction, he was at heart an honest man, who had swerved for a single moment." There the matter is best left.

Chapter VI.

THE JOURNALIST. II.

The chief difficulty in tracing Des Maizeaux's literary activities is the fact that they cannot be neatly parcelled out, or dealt with on a simple chronological basis. Thus it happens that after following a line of investigation which establishes beyond reasonable doubt that he actually collaborated quietly with at least one leading English deist, the next logical step, that of seeking evidence of his contact with the deists, in his journalism, cannot be taken at once. So little work has been done on him, that the first need is to trace further the scope of his work as a journalist. The deist sympathies, after all, only formed part of his interests, and manifestations of them must be left to show themselves against the general background of his work for the French periodicals. But enquiry into possible connections between his freethinking tendencies and his journalism leads to a second clearly definable phase of his career as a literary reporter, during the second decade of the century, and concerning chiefly, in addition to the Journal des Savants and Trévoux, three new periodicals published in Holland. They form a more compact group than the first one, but still have sufficient individuality to call

for separate accounts of Des Maizeaux's association with them. In order of their appearance, they are the Histoire Critique de la République des Lettres, the well-known Journal Littéraire de La Haye, and a weekly issue of literary news entitled simply Nouvelles Littéraires; but since the connection with the Journal Littéraire is uncertain it must be discussed after the others. A fourth journal, the Bibliothèque Angloise, although in a slightly different category, is also related to this period of Des Maizeaux's journalism.

The Histoire Critique was launched in 1712 by Samuel Masson, a protestant minister, of the English church at Dordrecht; published originally at Utrecht, it was taken over, after the second volume, by another bookseller, Jacques Desbordes of Amsterdam. Masson's immediate contact with England was through his brother Jean Masson, who held substantial benefices in the Anglican church, after a varied career which included a period as tutor to the children of Bishop Burnet. Jean Masson was a well-known scholar and antiquary, but his reputation for genuine learning was offset to some extent by vanity and pedantry, from which his brother also was by no means exempt. The character of these two imparted a certain waspishness to the Histoire Critique, which nearly caused its suppression at one period. This journal became unpopular with its contemporaries on account

of its occasional descent to personal spite, and it was perhaps for this reason that it became the chief instrument of Des Maizeaux's bitter warfare against Prosper Marchand, of which more will be heard. However, like other journals, the Histoire Critique performed a useful function, especially in publicizing English books.

Des Maizeaux's first contact with the Masson brothers was an early friendship with Jean, whom he knew at least as early as 1704, and with whom he remained friendly for over thirty years, although few letters passed between them ¹⁾. The real source of information, however, on his connection with the journal is a set of letters from Samuel Masson covering the whole period of publication, from 1712 to 1718, during which time 15 volumes appeared ²⁾. Masson had tried unsuccessfully to approach Des Maizeaux for assistance when planning his proposed journal during the winter of 1711-1712, but in the end it was once more Des Maizeaux who opened the correspondence in July 1712, with an offer to provide literary news from England. Masson

1) A letter from Bayle to DM. June 17, 1704 refers to J. Masson. Bayle, Letters. 1729. No. 260. The last letter from Masson to DM. is dated Aug. 16. 1738. MS. 4235/187. DM. was intermediary between Masson and Résident Bouhier.

2) MS. 4285/149-131. There are also some letters from Desbordes. MS. 4283/76 etc.

replied delightedly :

"Il est constant que les Nouvelles Littéraires font la partie la plus recherchée des Journaux; aussi suis-je résolu d'en faire toujours un Article de l'Histoire Critique s'il est possible. Pour cet effet j'accepte très volontiers l'offre obligeante que renferme votre lettre sur ce sujet. La Méthode que vous avez suivie ci-devant dans les Journaux de Mr. Bernard, a été trop bonne pour n'être pas du goût de tous ceux qui aiment les Lettres." 3)

The nascent journal had also received the blessing of Bignon, Tournemine and Le Tellier, and Masson sought Des Maizeaux's help in obtaining articles not only from England, but from France, by way of Bignon - a curious instance of the intricacies of these literary and journalistic channels of communication ⁴⁾. Des Maizeaux agreed, of course, to develop sources of material in his adopted country, and thus became Masson's general agent in England. In fact, he probably did more for the journal than Jean Masson, whose share in it seems to have consisted of a few learned articles and vicious polemics. Des Maizeaux's first new-letter appeared in the second volume, published in December 1712, and part of his first letter to Masson was printed in an avertissement at the beginning of the same volume.

The news-letters themselves are not particularly interesting if considered individually, and are best discussed in relation to those of other journals. As far as

3) MS. 4285/149-50. Masson to DM. Aug. 12. 1712.

4) *ibid.* and MS. 4285/154-55.

Des Maizeaux is concerned, the Histoire Critique is chiefly remarkable for the number of anonymous attacks upon Marchand, over the publication of Bayle's correspondence and dictionary. There are, however, one or two odd contributions to the journal by Des Maizeaux, including two articles comprising an Explication d'un passage d'Hippocrate dans le Livre de la Diete, discussed with reference to Leibniz, and published with a letter from that philosopher to Des Maizeaux containing remarks on his "explication" ⁵⁾. This is of interest as an instance of the refugee's relations with great figures of European philosophy. He had first taken an interest in the writings of Leibniz in the days of his contact with Bayle, to whom he had sent some observations on the German philosopher. In 1711, when collecting Bayle's letters, he asked Leibniz for contributions, and sent him part of his own remarks on certain aspects of the system of Monads, and some Cartesian elements in Leibniz's thought. The resulting discussion of the opinions of Greek philosophers was published in Masson's journal, and the correspondence was subsequently reprinted in Des Maizeaux's Recueil de piéces sur la philosophie. He thus appears as one of the minority of Frenchmen who showed any early interest in the great German, and by publishing the controversies involving

5) Hist. Crit. Vol. XI. Articles 2, 13.

Leibniz, Newton and Clarke, made an honourable contribution to the publicizing of Leibniz in France ⁶⁾.

An article of a different type in the Histoire Critique is one called Jugement du Véritable Mathanasius sur le Chef-d'Oeuvre d'un Inconnu. The title is followed by the mysterious formula "P.L.S.F.E.D.M. Q.S.M.D.T.", interpreted by one of Des Maizeaux's correspondents as "par les Sieurs Préverau et Des Maizeaux qui se moquent de Thémiseul" ⁷⁾. Préverau was a fellow-refugee in England, and the piece is a reply to the well-known satire of pedantry by Thémiseul de St. Hyacinthe, who later became a close friend of Des Maizeaux in England. It is a curious piece of work, cast in the form of a light anecdote about an encounter with the "real Dr. Mathanasius" in the gardens of the Luxembourg. Although it is a piece of tomfoolery, it contains a defence of commentators of genuine merit, which was probably the only attempt to treat seriously the jeu d'esprit of St. Hyacinthe. It reveals something of the lighter side of Des Maizeaux, but its more serious side may indicate that it was hatched in collusion with Jean Masson, who was supposed to be one of the targets of St. Hyacinthe's popular

6) MS. 4284/208-9. Leibniz to DM. July 8. 1711. Printed in DM's Recueil II. pp. 382-8.

7) Hist. Crit. Vol. XIII. Art.3. This article was submitted anonymously, probably written up by Préverau. MS. 4285/178.

satire. Other articles which Des Maizeaux may have contributed to the Histoire Critique are best considered with his work for other periodicals, the next of which to be discussed is Nouvelles Littéraires.

This was a new departure in the world of French periodicals; the idea of a weekly publication devoted entirely to literary news-reports from all corners of Europe was conceived by a young newcomer to the Franco-Dutch publicizing fraternity, one Henri du Sauzet, a protégé of Basnage, referred to variously as a Gascon, a Swiss, and (by Bouhier) as an ex-Jesuit. In his search for a correspondent in England he applied, in December 1714, to Jean Le Clere, who recommended him forthwith to Des Maizeaux, the latter being now, apparently, recognized by the French journalists as a kind of resident expert on the English "republic of letters".⁸⁾ Du Sauzet wrote at once to enlist the co-operation of Des Maizeaux for his news-sheets, which were published from the beginning of 1715. As usual, the obliging Des Maizeaux agreed to act for him, and the memoria to this particular association is one of the largest series of letters in the Des Maizeaux papers, which, apart from

8) M3. 4282/110. Le Clere to DM. with enclosure from Du Sauzet (M3. 4287/298). Dec. 31. 1714.

its direct bearing on his contributions to Du Sauzet's periodical, deals with other matters, such as the publication of the 1720 Recueil, and offers examples of Des Maizeaux's activity as a literary agent, Du Sauzet being, of course, a general publisher as well as a journalist.

Like most of its contemporaries, Nouvelles Littéraires did not have a very long career, but during the early part, at least, of its five years of existence, it met with considerable success, according to the letters of Du Sauzet. But by its very nature, it was more ephemeral than most periodicals, and complete sets are now very rare. Consisting only of a few pages, it had an advantage over other journals in being more easily dispatched by the postal services. It seems to have been widely distributed in this way, and was probably drawn on by many literary journals. This enterprise too, was favoured by Bignon, who seems to have been an active supporter of any new venture in this international journalism⁹⁾ The publication of such^a/news-report was also a sound business move, and Du Sauzet reported to Des Maizeaux that his trade as a bookseller was being stimulated by his Nouvelles Littéraires¹⁰⁾. The rapid growth of a systematic European network of literary news-reports is illustrated by the following observation from Du Sauzet, referring to the

9) MS. 4287/~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~300. Du Sauzet to DM.

10) MS. 4287/302-3. Du Sauzet to DM. Feb. 12. 1715.
April 5. 1715.

Journal Littéraire : -

"Les Journalistes feroient bien de me laisser le soin des Nouvelles Littéraires, et de s'attacher uniquement aux extraits des livres, à l'exemple des auteurs des Acta Eruditorum, qui à l'imitation de mes Nouvelles en font publier en Allemand à Leipzig M. Mencke, mon bon ami, m'envoie exactement toutes les feuilles allemandes par la poste; elles me fourniront de bons articles pour l'Allemagne et l'Italie; ils ne font aussi que traduire pour l'ordinaire mes Nouvelles de France, de Hollande et d'Angleterre." 11)

The famous Latin journal of Leipzig did, in fact, encourage this news-service to the extent of putting out Nova Literaria in Supplementum Actorum Eruditorum, beginning in 1718. This supplement, which appeared about once a fortnight for several years, was edited by J. G. Kraus, and its English news seems to be derived from the reports sent out by Des Maizeaux, but giving only details of editions, and no opinions. There is another example of the ramifications of the news-service for which Des Maizeaux was the agent in England; this is the leading Dutch literary journal, the monthly Boekzaal der Geleerde Werelt, whose "Algemeen Letternieuws" appears to be drawn mostly from publications such as Nouvelles Littéraires. As a concrete example, Des Maizeaux's London report in Nouvelles Littéraires of October 19, 1715, included the following :-

"On vient de publier en 6 volumes in -12 une nouvelle édition des Oeuvres de Spenser (sic), ancien Poète Anglois, et le modèle de la poésie non-rimée."

11)xs. 4287/307-8. Du Sauzet to DM. June 25. 1715.

In the Boekzeel for November 1715, this is reproduced word for word :

"In VI Stukken, in 12, geeft man eenen nieuwen druk van de werken van Spencer uit, die een out Engelsch Dichter was en een voorbeeld van de niet rymende Dichtkunde."
12)

At this time, the Boekzeel was also published in Amsterdam, and Du Sauzet probably had an arrangement with its editors, for the use of his news-letters. Des Maizeaux's rôle as intermediary is thus seen to extend much further than might at first be supposed.

Not long after its first appearance, Du Sauzet decided to broaden the scope of Nouvelles Littéraires, by including a number of articles of general interest. A collected quarterly edition was published, bringing it more into line with other journals, and so it continued, with regular English reports from Des Maizeaux. They did not appear every week, but were probably sent over each month, and split up by Du Sauzet to suit his own convenience. There was, however, no real gap until September 1718, when Des Maizeaux may have been more than usually involved with Collins. It is significant that his literary reports were not then replaced from other sources; this would imply that

12) N.-L., Oct. 19, 1715 p. 247. Boekzeel, Nov. 1715, p. 112

he had remained Du Sauzet's only correspondent in England, although the latter had, of course, business dealings with English booksellers.

Before dealing with the contents of these news-letters it may be noted that the correspondence of Du Sauzet and Des Maizeaux leads, among other things, to the consideration of the better-known Journal Littéraire de La Haye, undoubtedly one of the best of the French periodicals. Des Maizeaux's connection with it is frankly a matter of conjecture, necessitating the examination of secondary evidence in default of first-hand documentation such as exists in the case of the journals of Masson and Du Sauzet. The relative importance of the Journal Littéraire, however, makes it worth while to establish this connection as far as possible. The first volume of the journal appeared in May or June 1713, not long after Masson had launched the Histoire Critique. In its avertissement it is referred to as "l'ouvrage de plusieurs personnes de différents Pais, qui ont formé une espèce de Société." ¹³⁾ This group included at various times s'Gravesande, Prosper Marchand, Van Effen, Sallengre and St. Hyacinthe, whose joint work shows a real development from the simple abstract-periodical towards the critical review. The journal published literary news also, and there are certain indications that Des
Maizeaux

13) J.-L. Vol. I. Avertissement.

was its English correspondent, acting not with the authors mentioned above, but direct for the publisher. The Journal Littéraire had two distinct periods of existence, from 1713 to 1722, and from 1728 to 1735. Although the second of these may also have a bearing on Des Maizeaux's career, it is the first period which is of interest at present, when it was published by Thomas Johnson, one of the few Englishmen among the publishers of Holland. This Johnson, described by Addison as "a very understanding man, and the Lord Halifax's and Somerset's agent for books" ¹⁴⁾, was apparently a well-known figure, who published or reprinted many famous English books and French translations of them. In particular, he seems to have specialized in deist works, including those of Toland, Tindal and, as has already been observed, of Collins, with whom he was probably in sympathy.

A number of letters from Johnson to Des Maizeaux do exist, but unfortunately they belong to a much later period, and give no evidence of any connection between them at the time of the first series of the Journal Littéraire ¹⁵⁾. That Des Maizeaux did have dealings with Johnson then is certain, however, and in fact as early as 1703 and again in 1707 De la Motte's letters make mention of manuscripts

14) Addison to George Stepney. Sept. 3. 1706. Addison : Letters, ed. Graham, p. 57.

15) MS. 4284/177-191. They refer mostly to the publication of the works of Bayle.

of Des Maizeaux in Johnson's hands ¹⁶⁾. Moreover, in 1712 Des Maizeaux is found asking a correspondent to send letters by way of Johnson ¹⁷⁾, and in the same year De la Motte forwards a letter to Johnson from Des Maizeaux ¹⁸⁾. From these references it is possible to affirm the existence of a much earlier correspondence between them than that actually preserved among Des Maizeaux's papers. In 1713 Johnson reprinted the Discourse of Freethinking for Collins, who was then in Holland, and it is very probable that the freethinker acted as intermediary between Des Maizeaux and Johnson, for his visit coincided with the beginning of the periodical. In the Journal Littéraire itself there is at least one obvious contribution from Des Maizeaux, a Lettre de M. D(es) M(aizeaux
à M. J. (Johnson)
contenant quelques Remarques de Littérature, dated December 3,
1714, from London, and beginning significantly :

"Je vous suis fort obligé, Monsieur, de l'exactitude avec laquelle vous m'envoyez vos Journaux; je les lis toujours avec beaucoup de plaisir, et je souhaiterais de pouvoir produire quelque chose qui fût digne d'y avoir place, pour répondre à l'invitation réitérée que vous m'en faites." 19)

16) MS. 4282/101-2. Post-script by De la Motte to a letter from Le Clerc. May 20. 1703. MS. 4284/173; MS. 4286/47 and 55. De la Motte to LM. 1706-7.

17) MS. 4284/121-2. Huet to LM. April 25, 1712.

18) MS. 4286/169-170. De la Motte to LM. March 15, 1712.

19) J-L. Vol. V. Pt.2 Art. 7. This article attacks, among other things, the fanatical opposition of Jansenists and Quakers to the theatre.

This puts contact and correspondence between the two men beyond reasonable doubt, and probably implies that Johnson had been pressing Des Maizeaux to contribute something more individual than news-letters. But what is perhaps one of the clearest indications that Des Maizeaux was the London correspondent of this journal, occurs in the first few letters written to him by Du Sauzet at the time of the launching of Nouvelles Littéraires, which, as a rival publication, caused some annoyance to Johnson and his band of writers at The Hague.

In successive letters Du Sauzet promises Des Maizeaux to "prendre toutes les mesures possibles pour tenir secrètes les bontés que vous avez pour moi," and particularly from Johnson and the "Journalistes", a design in which, incidentally he seems to have failed ²⁰⁾. There can scarcely be any reason for this secrecy, unless it was that Des Maizeaux was also supplying the English reports to Johnson. Moreover, in first recommending Du Sauzet to Des Maizeaux, Jean Le Clerc mentioned a possibility that the latter might already be committed to the authors of the Journal Littéraire, as if this were generally

20) MS.4287/300-303. Du Sauzet to DM. Feb, 1715. A further letter, of June 25, 1715, observes "MM. les Journalistes Littéraires ont vu avec quelque peine le succès de mes petits Nouvelles; Johnson surtout a taché de les décrier autant qu'il a pu." Du Sauzet also accuses Johnson of plagiarizing his news-letters, but the English reports in the J-L have every appearance of being genuine.

thought to be the case ²¹⁾. As far as circumstantial evidence can go, there is thus a clear case for naming Des Maizeaux as the original London correspondent of this journal, and this is in fact strengthened further by the internal evidence of the news-letters themselves, from the beginning of the journal. They are very similar to those known to have been written by Des Maizeaux for the other periodicals, as comparisons will soon show. But before working on this probability, one reservation must be made. It is possible that for about a year, from the spring of 1715, the Franco-Dutch journalist Justus Van Effen made a contribution to the London reports in the Journal Littéraire. This theory, which will be discussed again, is put forward by Dr. Pienaar²²⁾, but it is only a theory, and does not alter the fact that a regular and genuine correspondence went on both before and after Van Effen's visit to England. But admitting this as a possibility, it remains the writer's opinion that Des Maizeaux was Johnson's regular correspondent on the grounds of the evidence cited above.

Summing up this evidence, it brings this enquiry to the year 1715, which may be regarded as the climax of the second phase of Des Maizeaux's activity as a journalist, when he

21) MS. 4282/110. Le Clerc to DM. Dec. 31. 1714.

22) English Influences in Dutch Literature and Justus Van Effen as Intermediary.

was probably maintaining a separate literary news-service to no fewer than five French periodicals; the Journal des Savants, Trévoux, the Histoire Critique, Nouvelles Littéraires, and, as it seems, the Journal Littéraire. In addition, his reports were providing an indirect source of information for the Dutch Boekzaal and the German Acta Eruditorum, and possibly for other journals. This, it must be admitted, was no mean contribution to publicity in what was still the pioneer stage of Anglo-French relations, and its potential importance is made much greater by his known sympathies with the rationalist and liberal elements in English life, some signs of which have already been observed in the first group of journals.

If the "nouvelles littéraires" from England in these journals are considered as a group, certain aspects do stand out, and particularly, as one would expect, the freethinking background, or, as it might be more accurately described, the Collins background. Since there is, of course, a continuity in Des Maizeaux's work as a reporter, it is not surprising to find that the earliest attempt to publicize Collins beyond mere passing references, occurs before the development of the second group of journals, in the Journal des Savants of June 16, 1710, where there is a short résumé of Priestcraft in Perfection ²³⁾. In the Journal for April 6, 1711, this is followed by a two-page account of the reaction

23) J. des S. June 16, 1710. pp. 382-3.

to this "fameux livre", chiefly devoted to an anonymous reply entitled A Vindication of the Anglican Church, with a preface attacking Collins, of which Des Maizeaux writes:

"Le stile de cette préface est si diffus et si rempli d'incidens qu'il n'est pas aisé de suivre son Auteur ni de comprendre au juste à quoi se réduisent ses réponses. Il semble que l'Auteur de toute cette Réponse a eu plus d'envie de faire un gros livre que de s'expliquer d'une manière nette et précise." 24)

The style of this comment is significant; it is a propagandist-trick to discredit the enemy, and it becomes a marked feature of later references to works concerning Collins. A number of examples occur at the time of the Discourse of Freethinking, and replies to it by Bentley and Samuel Ryeeroff. Since they are also useful evidence for the common source of the "nouvelles littéraires" of the various journals, including Trévoux and the Journal Littéraire, they may be noted at length. It is in fact the Journal Littéraire of July-August 1713 which begins the process by noting the appearance of the Discourse and the emotion it has caused. It advances the opinion that its conciseness makes it untranslatable and stresses, not without relish, that the bold strokes against religion are drawn from grave and respected authors.

"On assure même qu'on ne peut pas trouver que l'Auteur y ait avancé une seule proposition hétérodoxe." 25)

24) J. des S. April 6, 1711. p. 193.

25) J-L. Vol. 2 pt. 2. pp. 467-8.

The Journal des Savants has a page on the growth of "Free-Tin-King" (sic) in England, with particular reference to Pycroft's reply to Collins in A Brief Enquiry into Free Thin King (sic) in Matters of Religion, a résumé of which displays a noticeable tone of irony .

"Il se plaint vivement dans la Préface, de ce que les Freethinkers ou Esprits-forts ne traitent pas le Clergé, et ceux qui le composent, avec l'honnêteté et la bienséance que demanderoit du moins la figure qu'ils font dans le monde." 26)

A little later, Pycroft's book is also summarized for the benefit of Trévoux, with remarks on "la liberté de penser dont les Anglois sont si jaloux", and an account of variations of Arian opinion held by Whiston and Clarke 27). In 1714, Bentley's reply to Collins is brought in, first in the Journal Littéraire : -

"Selon sa coutûme, il maltraite fort l'Auteur contre lequel il écrit. Il n'entre guères dans le fonds de l'affaire en question, mais il s'attache à critiquer les citations de ce Discours, et à disputer sur les sens des passages des Auteurs anciens qui y sont allégués." 28)

Shortly after this, a parallel can be found in Trévoux : -

"Les deux Réponses du Docteur Bentley au livre de Mr. Collins, Gentilhomme Anglois, sur la liberté de penser, sont superficielles. Le Docteur s'arrête à contester le sens de quelques citations. Mr. Edouard a réfuté Mr. Bentley." 29)

An earlier reference in Trévoux takes a slightly different line: -

- =====
- 26) J. des S. June 26. 1713. 27) Trévoux. July 1713. pp. 1292-6.
 28) J-L. Vol.III. Pt.1. pp.219-220, under the heading
 29) Trévoux, March 1715. p. 547. Cambridge.

"Mr. Bentley répond au livre qui a fait tant de bruit, et qu'on attribue à Mr. Collins, Gentilhomme Anglois; Discours sur la liberté de penser. Il y aura beaucoup d'érudition dans la réponse, mais Mr. Bentley aura de la peine à réfuter les preuves de la liberté de penser, prises de l'exemple des plus fameux Écrivains de l'Eglise Anglicane et même des Evêques. Quand on a passé les bornes de l'Autorité de l'Eglise posées par Jésus-Christ, il est difficile de s'arrêter; il est impossible d'arrêter les autres." 30)

A little tact is necessary when dealing with the Jesuits, but a different tone is apparent when the newly-fledged Nouvelles Littéraires takes up the tale early in 1715, with a reference to the action of Cambridge University in thanking Bentley for his reply to Collins, and a blunt defence of the "Free Tinkers" (sic).

"Les Ministres Protestans sont revis qu'en secoue le joug des Ministres de l'Eglise Romaine. Vaut-on secouer le leur ? Ils s'irritent. Ont-ils donc eux-mêmes, l'esprit d'infailibilité qu'ils refusent aux autres ? Ils devraient bien s'appercevoir qu'une telle conduite s'oppose directement les principes de la Réformation." 31)

This unequivocal observation proved so unpalatable to some readers that a fortnight later Du Sauzet had to retract and apologize for the gibe by Des Maizeaux, which marks the development of a more aggressive spirit 32). But again Nouvelles Littéraires carries on the hints about Bentley's bo-

30) Trévoux, Nov. 1714, p.2031, under Cambridge.

31) N-L Feb. 9. 1715, under Cambridge.

32) The retraction^{at} appears in N-L. Feb. 23. 1715, as a letter from The Hague, doubtless inserted by Du Sauzet himself.

"Le Docteur Bentley a publié deux réponses assez vives au livre écrit par Mr. Collins sur la liberté de penser, mais tout le monde n'en est pas également satisfait. On trouve que ces réponses sont superficielles et qu'elles n'attaquent que foiblement l'ouvrage de M. Collins. Au lieu de s'amuser inutilement à disputer sur le sens de quelques citations, il aurait dû s'attacher à détruire par des raisons solides les sentiments qu'il désapprouve. Mr. Bentley vient d'être réfuté par M. Edouard." 33)

Finally, the Histoire Critique repeats the accusation that Bentley's book is merely superficial.

"Elle n'a pas répondu à l'idée qu'on en s'était faite. Quoique l'Auteur y donne des preuves de son Erudition, on ne trouve pas qu'il aye combattu et renversé le sentiment de son adversaire avec toute la solidarité requise. La littérature et le savoir ne suffisent pas dans ces sortes de disputes." 34)

This series of references from five journals is a typical example of the patterns which can be traced through these London news-reports by Des Maizeaux, and of the slow, repetitive propaganda to impress some fact upon the public, in this case that the main argument of Collins' discourse has not been refuted - a judgment with which modern critics agree, although Collins overstates his case in some respects. It is a particularly insidious form of whispering campaign, and it must have had some effect. This technique of "on dit" and "on trouve" was, in fact, the only way, for at this period

33) N-L June 29. 1715.

34) Hist. Crit. Vol. IX. p. 305, under Cambridge.

no French periodical would openly support such a work as Collins' Discourse in a review or abstract. Des Maizeaux, however, found the way to create a favourable impression under the guise of innocent reporting.

His activities in support of the Discourse of Free-thinking do not end here, for Collins was obliged to defend his treatise against an attack by the Geneva theologian Pictet in his Traité de l'Indifférence des Religions. This defence took the form of a Letter to Mr. D. - - - (i.e. Des Maizeaux), which the latter translated and had published in Du Sauzet's Nouvelles Littéraires - another, though minor instance of the collaboration of Collins and Des Maizeaux ³⁵⁾. The other major example of publicity given to Collins' work by Des Maizeaux is the case of the Inquiry Concerning Human Liberty, the references to which may be added to the evidence

35) M-L. April 24, 1717. Lettre de l'Auteur du Discours sur la Liberté de Penser à M. D. - - -. Two letters from Collins to M.L. refer to this article. On Feb. 28, 1717 he writes: "Instead of the Remarks which you expect from me, I have send you some few on Mr. Pictet's book." MS. 4282/125. On April 26, 1717, Collins expresses satisfaction with the translation. MS. 4282/127. In this article or letter, which begs the question somewhat, Collins says that Pictet has taken his remarks too seriously, and misrepresented them. This is an unusual, possibly unique instance of the use of a French periodical as a direct instrument by an English deist.

already discussed for Des Maizeaux's share in that work. They are also, as it happens, corroborative evidence for his connection with the two more "doubtful" periodicals, Trévoux and the Journal Littéraire.

The Histoire Critique announces in 1717 that two editions of the Inquiry have appeared : -

"l'ouvrage le plus complet et le plus méthodique qu'on ait encore vu sur cette matière..... On l'attribue à Mr. Collins, Gentilhomme Anglois" 36)

The reply by Clarke is also noted. The London correspondent of the Journal Littéraire also announces it in 1717, remarking : -

"Vous ferez bien d'en donner un bon extrait dans votre Journal." 37)

In 1718 the Journal Littéraire again prints in its "nouvelles Littéraires" a "Lettre envoyée au Libraire qui imprime ce Journal", urging the Journal once more to give its promised abstract of "un livre Anglois fort bien écrit sur la Liberté"

"Il seroit à souhaiter que cet Ouvrage fût traduit dans une Langue plus universellement connue que l'Angloise, mais en attendant que cela se fasse, peut-être que l'Extrait que vous promettez, contentera ma curiosité là-dessus." 38)

36) Hist. Crit. Vol. XIV. 1717 in its London nouvelles.

37) J-L Vol. IX pt. 2.

38) J-L Vol. X Pt.1. p. 234. The hostile review is Art.5 of the same volume.

This is clearly a device to puff the work and encourage a demand for its translation, and the writer of it is almost certainly Des Maizeaux, who, as has been seen, was even then getting it translated by Des Bous. Unfortunately for him, the device is only partially successful, for although an abstract of the Inquiry does appear in the Journal Littéraire, it is accompanied by hostile criticism, presumably from one of Johnson's regular abstract-writers.

The scene now changes to Trévoux, where there are some curious references which strongly support the contention that Des Maizeaux was still the Jesuits' correspondent.

After mentioning Bentley, the Trévoux nouvelliste says : -

"Il réfute actuellement le traité du libre arbitre de Mr. Collins, Gentilhomme Anglois, Auteur du discours sur la liberté de penser, auquel Mr. Bentley a fait une réponse fort savante divisée en trois parties. Remarquez que Mr. Collins a pris deux voyes pour ébranler les fondeurs de la religion et de la morale. Il donne à l'esprit la dangereuse liberté d'examiner les vérités révélées, et de soumettre la foi aux lumières naturelles. Il ôte la liberté à la volonté, afin de justifier tous les crimes. Si l'esprit a la liberté de penser, plus de religion. Si la volonté n'a pas la liberté de choisir, plus de morale. Mr. Collins va droit à son but, et s'il lui falloit entrer dans quelque accommodement, je suis sûr qu'il renonceroit à la liberté d'esprit plutôt que d'admettre la liberté de la volonté. Les protestans ne sont pas en état de le confondre; il se mettra toujours à couvert sous les noms respectables pour eux de Luther, de Calvin, de Zuer, de Gomarus. Il leur opposera le Synode de Dordrecht; partagés entre eux sur la réalité du libre arbitre, dont beaucoup ne retiennent que le nom, ils ne sauroient défendre avec succès ce grand principe des mœurs." 39)

39) ix Trévoux, March 1718 p. 565 etc.

This must be one of the most curious passages ever to grace the pages of Trévoux. Apart from the "gentilhomme Anglois" cliché, the tone of personal and authoritative knowledge leaves little doubt that it is the work of Des Maizeux. It offers a sop to the Jesuits by its pin-pricks at protestant authorities, but it will be noted that it goes to some pains to make known the nature and implications of the Inquiry, and virtually announces a programme of possible developments of Collins' attack on Free-will in a way which lends colour to the idea that Des Maizeux may well have exerted a directive influence on the freethinker. That this is a genuine letter from England is shown further by a brief paragraph in the following issue of Trévoux.

"Je me suis trompé quand je vous ay écrit que le Docteur Bentley réfute Mr. Collins sur le libre arbitre; c'est le Docteur Clarke dont on a traduit en François les Traités de l'Existence de Dieu et de la Religion Naturelle, qui s'est chargé de défendre le Dogme de la liberté." 40)

In 1719 Trévoux has a further account of the Collins-Clarke controversy ⁴¹⁾. Again, ostensibly, it upholds Clarke against Collins, probably because in any case the Jesuits would not print anything openly supporting Collins' doctrine but it is careful to point out - with the usual "on dit" technique⁴², in this case "quelques lecteurs en cru...." -

40) Trévoux, April 1718, p. 187.

41) Trévoux, July 1719, pp. 1238-9.

that Clarke destroys free-will in another way, by maintaining that the soul has in it an independent principle of movement. This is precisely a point on which Des Maizeaux has been seen to advise Collins. The inference of the first of these reports in Trévoux would seem to be that Catholics cannot reply to Collins' reasoning any more than Protestants; in both, the essential drift of Collins' argument is carefully pointed out. The equivocal nature of these reports suggests, too, a device to publicize the whole controversy, probably because Des Maizeaux was then publishing both sides of it in French, in his Recueil.

As a footnote to this account of the attention paid to the "Liberty and Necessity" controversy in the periodical it may be noted that in 1714, when Collins must have been at work on the Inquiry, the Histoire Critique published an anonymous Essai sur l'accord de la Préscience de Dieu avec la Liberté de l'Homme, whose author confesses himself baffled by this aspect of the Free-will dogma ⁴²⁾. By its implications, at least, this piece tends noticeably towards Collins' standpoint, and Masson only printed it with great trepidation after a vain appeal to the author to make himself known ⁴³⁾. Masson was genuinely ignorant of the

⁴²⁾ Hist.Crit. Vol. VII. Art. 4. p.131. This anonymous essay is actually dated from London. Nov. 17. 1713.

⁴³⁾ This appeal takes the form of an announcement at the beginning of Vol. VI of the Hist. Crit.

author's identity, although he later wrote to Des Maizeaux that he had heard a report that it was by Durand, presumably Des Maizeaux's friend, the historian ⁴⁴⁾. The appearance of such a work at such a time in the Histoire Critique may be pure coincidence, but Des Maizeaux did a certain amount of trafficking in anonymous material, and it would not be surprising if he had a hand in this particular article. It is at least worth recording as another possible link in the chain of evidence to connect him with Collins' Inquiry and its background.

"Mr. Collins, Gentilhomme Anglois" is not the only English deist publicized by Des Maizeaux. Through him appeared the abstract - perhaps written by him - of Shaftesbury's Characteristicks, and Leibniz's observations, in the Histoire Critique ⁴⁵⁾, and in Nouvelles Littéraires a five-page résumé of Chubb's first tract, The Supremacy of the Father Asserted, is to be found, known to have been contributed by Des Maizeaux ⁴⁶⁾. Chubb was neglected in France, although a translation of some of his works did appear some 15 years later. This summary by Des Maizeaux is undoubtedly the first attempt to make him known on the continent. Des

44) MS. 4285/164. Masson to DL. Feb. 8, 1715.

45) Hist. Crit. Vol. X. Articles 10 and 13.

46) N-L April 4. 1716. pp. 218-223.

Maizeaux's later intimacy with Toland is also reflected in the pages of Nouvelles Littéraires, with an advance notice of a revised edition of Adeisidaemon and Origines Judaicae, including details of proposed additions ⁴⁷⁾, with five pages on Toland's Reasons for naturalizing the Jews ⁴⁸⁾, and a nine-page account of his pamphlet The State Anatomy of Gt. Britain, giving a full idea of Toland's radical point of view in politics and religion, of his pleas for natural religion and toleration, and his attacks on the high-church camp, including Sacheverell and Atterbury ⁴⁹⁾. In the middle of this account, the writer, presumably Des Maizeaux, changes for a time from impersonal style to the first person, as for example, in discussing High-Church views.

"Que le Pape réside à Rome ou à Cantorbéry, c'est la même chose pour nous. Voilà ce que j'appelle le Papisme Huguenot, la Transsubstantiation à part."

In August 1718, Des Maizeaux promised an account of Nazarenus which, however, never materialized ⁵⁰⁾. Moreover, Du Sauzet's letters indicate that Des Maizeaux approached him with a view to promoting the publication of one of Toland's works, probably Nazarenus, but the prudent publisher

47) N-L Aug. 3. 1715.

48) N-L Sept. 14. 1715.

49) N-L June 26, 1717. pp. 405-413.

50) N-L Aug. 13. 1718X.

declined to touch it.

"Je vous remercie de l'Avis que vous me donnez sur le nouveau livre de Mr. Toland; j'ai assez d'autres affaires sur les bras, et d'ailleurs on pourroit me savoir mauvais gré de l'impression de cet ouvrage, l'Auteur étant fort décrié en matière de religion." 51)

Occasionally a personal note creeps into the news-letters which reveals quite clearly Des Maizeaux's own hostility towards the High-Church party. Criticizing a pompous lucubration entitled A Preservative against unsettled notions and want of principles in Religion by Joseph Trapp, chaplain to Bolingbroke, he writes : -

"Mr. Trapp est un de ces Théologiens pétris de soufre et de Salpêtre, toujours prêts à faire main basse sur ceux qui ne veulent pas se soumettre aveuglement à leurs décisions, et les recevoir comme tout autant d'Articles de foi. L'orgueil et la présomption de ces gens-là font qu'ils ramènent tout à eux, et qu'ils n'ont pas honte de se dire les défenseurs de la cause de Dieu, lorsqu'il est visible qu'ils ne travaillent que pour se donner une indépendance absolue et un pouvoir despotique. Nous avons vu bien des Trapps et peut-être n'en manquez-vous pas en Hollande, ~~car~~ quoique le Clergé n'y fasse pas à beaucoup-près si belle figure." 52)

After this outburst, Des Maizeaux passes innocently to a notice of Cheyne's Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion, following his usual technique.

Propaganda in support of liberal and deist elements is also carried on in odd and indirect ways; Burnet, for

51) MS. 4283/13. Du Sauzet to DM. June 10. 1718.

52) Hist. Crit. Vol. IX. p. 314.

example, is strongly supported in remarks occasioned by his History of the Reformation, and by his death ⁵³⁾. And then, one can find included in a London report, the text, in French, of a letter from Constantinople, written by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu - an amusing piece, containing a witty defence of the Moslems and remarks on the Alcoran "dont les Prêtres Grecs (la plus grande canaille de l'univers) font des contes ridicules", and an anecdote of a Moslem of Belgrade who asked "comment se portait Monsieur Toland"⁵⁴⁾. Yet another instance is the publication in Nouvelles Littéraires of a short Vie de Spinoza, with a preface ascribing it to "feu Sr. Lucas"⁵⁵⁾. Des Maizeaux had tried once before to get De la Motte to find a publisher for this piece, but the latter had refused to touch anything so dangerous, for in fact it is a strong defence of Spinoza who, it says,

"vivra dans le souvenir des vrais Savans, et dans leurs Ecrits qui sont le Temple de l'Immortalité."

Who really wrote the piece cannot be known; perhaps Des Maizeaux himself. In any case, Du Sauzet reported to Des

53) Much attention is paid to Burnet's History of his own time, also, e.g. in N-L Oct. 26. 1715, when Dr. quotes passages attacking the lay power of the clergy in the House of Lords.

54) N-L May 20. 1719.

55) N-L. Vol. X Pt.1. July-Sept. 1719 Art. 9. The imputation of authorship is deliberately vague.

Maizeaux that he was in trouble for publishing it, as, indeed, he might have expected. 56)

Apart from references to freethinking literature as such, the propaganda-element in Des Maizeaux's seemingly innocent news-service emerges most clearly in the reports of the great Bangorian controversy, which is, in a sense, complementary to the deistic issue. In view of echoes of this upheaval in Voltaire's Lettres Philosophiques, it is interesting to trace this earlier publicity given to it through the medium of the French periodicals. Naturally, the deists rejoiced at the spectacle of the "Socinian Bishop" Hoadly sapping the foundations of the claim to lay authority advanced by his brethren. Hoadly had, as has been observed, already attracted Des Maizeaux's attention at the time of his earlier controversy with Bishop Blackall, which was well reported in Des Maizeaux's newsletters. The freethinkers' attitude towards the new controversy, and the individual anticlericalism of Collins are revealed in the following remarks in a letter to Des Maizeaux.

56) MS. 4288/33. Du Sauzet to DM. Oct. 17. 1719. On April 19, 1712 De la Motte had written: "Je ne sai dans quelle vue vous m'avez anvoié ce commencement d'éloge ou de Vie de Spinoza que Mr. Coste m'a aporté. J'è me n'aimerois pas d'être le promoteur de l'impression d'un tel ouvrage." MS. 4286/173.

"I was extremely pleas'd with Bp. Hoadly's controversy, as it was upon the true and only point worth disputing with ye Preists, viz. whether we the laity are the Calves and Sheep of the Preists; and I am not less pleased to see them manage this controversy with ye same vile arts against one another as they always use towards the laity. It must open the eyes of a few, and convince them that the Preists mean nothing but wealth and power, and have not the least portion of those qualitys for which the superstitious world admires them." 57).

The Bangorian controversy is obviously something for Des Maizeaux and his friends to exploit, and the opportunity is not neglected. But the situation is made even more pregnant by a closer personal contact between the refugee and Hoadly's camp. It is quite probable that Des Maizeaux knew "Little Ben" Hoadly personally, through his relations with Steele and other leading Whigs. He was certainly in close contact with a minor personage, whose name figures prominently in the annals of the controversy. This was another French exile, François de la Pillonnière, a former Jesuit, now employed as tutor to Hoadly's children 58). The

57) MS. 4282/137. Collins to DM. July 1. 1717.

58) DM. was negotiating on La Pillonnière's behalf in July 1715 in connection with notes to and a translation of the Epistle to Pope Clement XI, preceding Steele's State of the Roman Catholic Religion. The satirical epistle was by Hoadly, although it appeared as Steele's. MS. 4287/309. Du Lauzet to DM. July 9. 1715.

Bangorian controversy flared up when Hoadly followed up his Preservative against the Principles of the Nonjurors with his sermon on the nature of Christ's Kingdom. His chief adversary, Dr. Snape of Eton, took up the challenge and launched an attack which included a criticism of Hoadly for having a Jesuit in his household. Thus a member of the French colony was directly involved in the controversy, and La Pillonnière entered the fray in collaboration with Hoadly, and on his own account. La Pillonnière appears to have been persecuted by some of the French clergy in England, but the journalists, including La Roche and Des Maizeaux, rallied to the defence of the unfortunate scapegoat. La Roche opened the pages of his Bibliothèque Angloise to the "defendants", and published La Pillonnières own reply to Snape, and a series of abstracts of Hoadly's defence against the attacks made on him in Convocation. At the same time, Des Maizeaux, in co-operation with La Pillonnière ⁵⁹⁾, went into action with a series of reports on the controversy, published in the English letters in Nouvelles Littéraires and the Histoire Critique, and also in the Journal Littéraire.

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59) MS. 4B 7/345. Du Sauzet to DM. Jan. 28, 1717. This makes clear the co-operation of DM. and La Pillonnière. "Vous ne manquerez pas, sans doute, de m'envoyer ce que vous me faites espérer touchant la réponse de Mr. Hoadley. Votre bon goût m'assure que vous choisirez toujours ce qu'il y a de plus intéressant pour le public." Du Sauzet also proposes to write to La Pillonnière personally.

Des Maizeaux opens the campaign with a notice of the nonjuror Howell's Case of Schism, and points out the weakness of the case for the independent power of the clergy, recommending a long abstract of Hoadly's Preservative ⁶⁰⁾. An 11-page account of it follows soon afterwards, with a note that La Pillonnière is preparing a French translation ⁶¹⁾. The next step is an 11-page abstract of Hoadly's sermon on the text "My Kingdom is not of this World", and an account of Snape's attack ⁶²⁾. Meanwhile, the controversy is publicized gleefully in the Histoire Critique, again beginning with Howell's book, and a discussion of the Nonjurors, and passing to Hoadly's Preservative.

" - ouvrage où l'on défend la Révolution et l'Eglise Anglicane par des Principes puisés dans le bon sens, dans le Droit naturel et dans l'Ecriture Sainte."

The freethinkers' aim is not simply to support Hoadly, but to exploit the whole affair from a general anticlerical standpoint, now emerges clearly : -

"Dans cet écrit, Mr. de Bangor fait voir le ridicule de la prétention des Non-jureurs et des autres Ecclésiastiques de la "Haute Eglise", qui prétendent être indépendans du pouvoir séculier et qui renversent par là les Loix divines et humaines. Mais sa sincérité et bonne foi a généralement déplu; car le bas Clergé Anglican n'a pas moins de penchant pour l'Autorité et l'indépendance que le haut; en cela ils ne diffèrent qu'en ce que celui-ci soutient hautement ce que l'autre souhaite tout bas et désire de tout son coeur. On regarde ce sage et pieux Prélat comme une espèce de faux frère."

60) N-L Jan. 30. 1717. p. 72.

61) N-L March 20, 1717. pp. 181 - 192.

62) N-L July 3. 1717. pp. 4-16.

Other replies to Howell are then mentioned, and several pages are devoted to Hicke and other prominent Nonjurors⁶³⁾. A further 10-page account in the Histoire Critique gives a succinct summary of the progress of the Bangorian controversy down to 1718, again discussed nominally from a pro-Hoadly angle⁶⁴⁾. It may be observed that there is a very similar account in the London news of the Journal Littéraire⁶⁵⁾, which is thus once more brought into the picture as probably one of the chain of journals supplied with reports by Des Maizeaux. The last contribution to Nouvelles Littéraires on this topic is not uninteresting :

"Tous les gens de bien un peu éclairés et surtout ceux qui sont aussi en garde contre le Papisme Protestant que contre le Papisme Catholique, ne peuvent assez louer ici le beau Sermon de M. l'Evêque de Bangor."

After more notes on the controversy, and the failure of Convocation to obtain a royal condemnation, there is an ironical reference to the device by which the move was defeated - the prorogation of Convocation : -

63) Hist. Crit. Vol. XIII Pt. 2 pp. 304 - 6

64) Hist. Crit. Vol. IV. pp. 318 - 323.

65) J-L Vol. IX. Pt. 2. pp. 475 - 480.

"Mais le Roi est venu malheureusement à la traverse, et a arrêté les procédures de l'Inquisition Angloise, en envoyant l'escadron noir évaporer sa bile à la Campagne, jusqu'à la fin de la belle saison. It nigrum campis agmen " 66)

Since the controversy affected mainly the protestant world, Des Maizeaux does not appear to have brought it to the notice of catholic journals, except for a brief reference in the news-pages of Trévoux ⁶⁷⁾, but otherwise his handling of the topic shows clearly his position and opinions.

It is this common front in support of Hoadly and his party in the Bangorian Controversy which first opens the question of relations between Des Maizeaux, working for a whole group of journals, and the Bibliothèque Angloise. This, the first French periodical dealing almost entirely with English literature and thought, was begun in 1716 by Michel de La Roche, who is, if anything, more important in the history of English than of French journalism, as a successor to his English Memoirs of Literature. The Bibliothèque Angloise, of which only the first five volumes were the work of La Roche, was published in Amsterdam, and there is an impression that La Roche directed it from Holland ⁶⁸⁾.

66) N-L July 10, 1717. p. 26 etc.

67) Trévoux, May 1718, p. 409.

68) Prof. Walter Graham, in English Literary Periodicals, pp. 198-9, evidently holds the view that La Roche directed his journal from Holland. This seems to be an

This view, however, is not altogether satisfactory, because La Roche was still in England in October 1717, at the time of the La Pillonnière affair, and in 1719 Du Sauzet writes to Des Maizeaux that La Roche is in Holland, as though he had just arrived there ⁶⁹⁾. This was about the time when La Roche abandoned the journal to a successor, and there is a strong probability that he wrote much or most of it in England, and simply sent the material to Holland for printing. In any case, Des Maizeaux and La Roche were closely connected for, as has been seen, the latter was prevailed on to translate most of Des Maizeaux's Recueil. Des Maizeaux was also involved with La Roche's successor in the direction of the Bibliothèque Angloise, La Chapelle, who wrote to him later, from The Hague, with reference to the journal :

"Il me semble que cet ouvrage, en particulier, alloit mieux lorsque j'étois à portée ou d'implorer votre assistance, ou de recevoir vos lumières." 70)

63) (continued)

assumption from the fact that it was published in Amsterdam. It is not in accordance with the evidence of Des Maizeaux's papers. Prof. Graham also considers La Roche and La Chapelle as "collaborators", but this again is open to question. It is more probable that La Chapelle was invited by the publishers to take over the journal when La Roche withdrew.

69) MS. 4288/33. Du Sauzet to DM. Oct. 17. 1719.

70) MS. 4282/81.2. La Chapelle to DM. Feb. 25. 1729.

It certainly seems that Des Maizeaux collaborated to some extent in the production of the Bibliothèque Angloise, but what this amounted to, it is impossible to say. La Chapelle, as a clergyman, did not share Des Maizeaux's attitude to religion (as the affair of Collins' Grounds and Reasons showed) but there was a strong bond of sympathy between Des Maizeaux and La Roche, in their common hatred of fanaticism and opposition to Calvinist bigotry. La Roche's volumes of the periodical ~~do~~ seem to betray some ⁷¹⁾ sort of contact or collaboration with Des Maizeaux; he too published "nouvelles littéraires", and many of the works mentioned briefly by Des Maizeaux are, of course, treated at length in the Bibliothèque Angloise. The activities of the two men were in a way complementary, and a genuine collaboration may have taken place. Although a letter from Collins to Des Maizeaux in 1717 ⁷¹⁾ reveals that up to that time there had been no contact between Collins and La Roche, the latter does appear to have been drawn into the freethinking circle, probably by Des Maizeaux. La Roche's sympathies with latitudinarian writers are evident, and occasionally an article of his Bibliothèque echoes distinctly a line previously taken by Des Maizeaux. For example, a review of the 5th edition of Bentley's Remarks on the Discourse of Freethinking in 1717 criticizes

71) MS. 4282/127. Collins to DM. April 26. 1717.

Bentley's bludgeoning method in some of them. In giving details of Bentley's book La Roche says : -²

"Nous choisirons celles qui nous paroissent les plus curieuses et les plus importantes et nous tâcherons d'en écarter toutes les injures, dont elles sont parsemées, afin de ne rien dire, qu'à ne puisse faire honneur à Mr. Bentley."

This two-edged observation is followed by a criticism which is simply a restatement of that which Des Maizeaux has already been labouring to impress upon the public, using a very similar technique.

"Au reste les personnes habiles comparent le Discours sur la Liberté de Penser à un petit Château qui méritoit d'être assiégé dans les formes, et ajoutent que Mr. Bentley s'est contenté de l'attaquer par les Girouettes." 72)

These small details, revealing the sympathies which existed between La Roche and Des Maizeaux, do hint at some sort of collusion, and there are other grounds for suspecting it, too. The Bibliothèque Angloise is made up largely of abstracts and review, but among the volumes issued by La Roche there are two exceptional pieces which seem to make a pair, and which suggest even more strongly the background influence of Des Maizeaux. They are the Histoire de Michel Servet and the Histoire de Nicolas Anthoine, both purporting to be "par l'auteur de cette Bibliothèque Angloise" and both printed in Part 1 of the second volume ⁷³⁾. The history

72) Bibl. Angl. Vol. I Pt.2, Articles 14 and 15.

73) Bibl. Angl. Vol. II Pt.1, Articles 7 and 9.

of the martyred Servetus, in particular, is a substantial piece, admittedly published in the interests of toleration, and clearly aimed at discrediting Calvinist fanaticism. It has, of course, been accepted as the work of La Roche, and there are certainly not sufficient grounds for contesting his authorship outright. There are, however, some curious points which give rise to some doubts as to whether he was the sole author either of this piece or the one on Anthoine; in short, there are vague foundations for suspicion that Des Maizeaux stands in relation to these pieces as he does to the works of Collins.

In the first place, there is something odd about the introduction to the account of Servetus. This is phrased very cautiously, for it must be remembered that the author is venturing on a delicate subject. He begins :

"Je ne doute pas que l'Histoire de Servet que je communique au Public ne soit aussi bien reçue dans les Pais Etrangers qu'elle l'a été en Angleterre. Si la Religion des Protestans dépendoit de la doctrine et de la conduite de leurs Réformateurs, je n'aurois garde de publier cette Pièce, quelque curieuse qu'elle puisse être."

74)

This reads a little strangely from a writer presenting his own work. And then, there are occasionally some small touches which remind one strongly of Des Maizeaux - e.g. some corrections to statements in Moëri's Dictionary; and at one

74) Bibl. Angloise Art. 7; introduction.

point the writer states that he has visited the place of Servetus' execution, near Geneva :

"j'ai eu la curiosité de visiter ce lieu, qui est à peine connu des Voyageurs." 75)

Now it so happens that there is no record of La Roche ever having been in Switzerland, although, since little is known about his life, such a thing is not impossible. But he is supposed, on his own account, to have spent a year in hiding in France, at the time of the Revocation, and then to have escaped to Holland, where he met Bayle, before going on to England. And he says of himself :

"I was very young when I took refuge in England, so that most of the learning I have got is of an English growth." 76)

La Roche soon entered English journalism, and it is strange that there should be no other references to his having been in Switzerland. This reference in the Servetus account

75) Bibl. Angl. ^{Art. 7} p. 139.

76) The fullest account of La Roche appears to be that by Agnew in his Protestant Exiles from France. Vol. II. pp. 271-4, including this statement, which occurs in La Roche's Literary Journal Vol. III. p. 290. He appears to have escaped from France with difficulty and after great hardship. He also seems to have settled down at once to the life of an Englishman, and there is something mysterious about these articles, which show such clear signs of more than superficial knowledge of Geneva, and an adult interest in the religious history of that city, developed on the spot.

is certainly suspect, although it is not necessary to labour the point that Des Maizeaux, on the other hand, had spent several years in Geneva. In themselves, these points in the Servetus article are merely odd, but there is also a piece of documentary evidence to be taken into account, namely the one letter from La Roche to Des Maizeaux which is preserved.

"Je vous prie très-humblement de ne point dire dans votre préface /to the Recueil/ que j'ai traduit la Dispute de Mr. Clarke et de Mr. Leibniz. Vous ne serez pas fâché d'apprendre que l'Histoire de Servet a été insérée dans la Bibliothèque du troisième Quartier de cette année, puis que vous souhaitiez qu'elle parût incessamment dans les pays étrangers. J'assure Mr. Collins de mon obéissance, et je vous souhaite de tout mon coeur la continuation d'une parfaite santé" 77)

This is interesting first because it confirms a definite link between La Roche and Collins, and secondly for its reference to this Histoire de Servet, which seems again a little odd. That Des Maizeaux should desire the wide publication of a piece which interested him (for obvious reasons) is natural enough - but why that authoritative "incessamment", unless he had a personal stake in the matter? And how, one wonders, does La Roche's "obéissance" to Collins come into the picture? It is known that Des Maizeaux was in fact very interested in Servetus, an outstanding victim of what he called "le Papisme Huguenot",

77) MS. 4287/261. La Roche to LM. Oct. 19. 1717.

for much later he published in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée a letter on a particular point of the accusation of the martyred man by Calvin ⁷⁸⁾, and was much interested in a copy of Servetus' Christianismi Restitutio owned by his friend Dr. Mead, and claimed as the only one to have escaped destruction. Mead himself republished one of Servetus' works in 1723, and another account of Servetus in English appeared anonymously in 1724. It seems that the freethinkers in England were deliberately resurrecting this ancient and famous affair, to use it as a weapon against religious tyranny, and that Des Maizeux, like La Roche, was deeply involved in this campaign ⁷⁹⁾. On the strength of

78) Bibl. Rais. Vol. III. Pt.1. July-Sept. 1729 p. 172. A letter concerning Servetus and an edition of Ptolemy's Geography. It is a typical product of DM. as a "furet de bibliothèque". There are some MS. notes on the subject among the "buried" MSS. in the British Museum (Add. Ms. 4272/113) and a draft letter to Mead (MS.4259/281).

79) As evidence of some sort of conspiracy to exploit the Servetus case in the interests of freethinking, attention may be drawn to the English Impartial History of Michael Servetus, Burnt alive at Geneva for Heresie. 1724. It contains many references to the La Roche article, and is strongly anti-Calvinist. It concludes with an account of the confession of faith in Calvin's Theol. Tract. "which all the students of the publick school at Geneva are to make before the rector", in support of the Trinity (pp. 215-6). Parts of the work read suspiciously like Collins, and its tone is set on p.5. "I will venture to say that the New Testament is human reason refin'd; and whatever is contrary to or above that reason, is real popery." This thought is pure Collins, and the work obviously emanated from the "freethinking club." It would not be surprising if Des Maizeux had a hand in it, as a former "student of the publick school at Geneva."

the anomalies in the text, and the letter of La Roche, it might almost be maintained that Des Maizeaux was the real author of the Histoire de Servet; there is certainly a case to be made for collusion with La Roche.

As regards the second of these articles, that on Nicolas Anthoine, executed at Geneva in 1632 for embracing Judaism, no documentary evidence can be cited to suggest a connection with Des Maizeaux, but it is very obviously a companion piece to the other, exposing another excess committed in Geneva in the name of religion, and it is introduced in exactly the same equivocal manner, with words which seem those of an editor rather than of the author.

"Cette pièce m'a paru assez curieuse pour être
communiquée au public - - - -"

This time, the author (again "L'Auteur de cette Bibliothèque Angloise") says that he has handled some of Anthoine's manuscripts, and this must presumably have taken place in Switzerland. Once more a suspicion begins to take shape that Des Maizeaux might have had a hand in this piece too, but it would hardly merit attention were it not for one particular passage which is very relevant to the discussion of the Collins-Des Maizeaux association.

"Lorsqu'il (Anthoine) entreprit d'examiner les Passages du Vieux Testament qui sont appliqués au Messie dans le Nouveau, il fut si choqué de cette application, et elle lui parut si fautive, qu'il renonça au Christianisme. Nicolas Anthoine est

peut-être le seul Chrétien, qui ait renoncé à sa Religion par un tel motif." 80)

This is a point of real interest, because it contains the germ of the whole of Anthony Collins' attack upon the prophecies. It has been seen that the tendency of all the evidence relating to the association of Collins and Des Maizeaux is to mark the latter as the man who provided much of the material for the freethinker's missiles. While there is no actual proof that he gave a directive impulse to Collins' campaign, the occurrence of such a point in one of these two articles, with which he may have been connected, is at least suggestive. There is a point at which coincidence ceases to satisfy as an explanation; is it possible, one wonders, that the particular form of Collins' attack originated in suggestions from Des Maizeaux, based on the fruits of his "ferreting" in the libraries of Geneva? It is a subject for speculation, and these articles in the Bibliothèque Angloise may well be the key to the problem, but since it cannot be affirmed with certainty that La Roche was never in Geneva, even though appearances are against it, it is wiser to leave the matter there. The one fact which emerges beyond doubt, is that La Roche and his Bibliothèque Angloise were, like the other French journals, directly connected with English freethinking circles, through the person of Des Maizeaux.

So far, examination of Des Maizeaux's news-service to, and other relations with this second group of journals, has revealed a much greater element of propaganda in support of rationalist and deist works, and ideas, amounting sometimes to open anticlericalism. But what of the creative side of literature in England, and the publicity given to the great Augustans ? Again, as in the earlier journals, Des Maizeaux's news-letters seem much less concerned with this aspect of the literary scene; there are, however, a number of points worth noting, one of which concerns the Journal Littéraire and the person of Justus Van Effen. It is unfortunate that there is no absolute documentary proof that Des Maizeaux was the original London correspondent for Johnson's journal, but a strong probability of it is sufficient justification for considering the Journal's London letters in the present study. The particular point in discussion refers to the best-known article in the journal, namely the Dissertation sur la poésie anglaise⁸¹⁾ which is in itself enough to justify Johnson's enterprise, and has often been quoted as an outstanding contribution to the knowledge of English poets on the continent, and the only French source of detailed information on Shakespeare before the Lettres Philosophiques. The authorship of this piece was long uncertain, until Dr.

81) J-L Vol. IX. Pt.1. 1717. pp. 157 - 216.

82)
Mr W. J. B. Pienaar established it as the work of Van Effen -
a view which, incidentally, is confirmed by one of two
extant letters from Van Effen to Des Maizeaux. This is not
dated, but was probably written in the spring or summer of
1716, after Van Effen's first visit to England, to which the
Dissertation is one of the chief memorials.

"Vous verrez dans le Journal qui s'imprime actuellement
une dissertation assez étendue sur la poésie Angloise,
que généralement parlant j'estime beaucoup par rapport
à l'invention et au génie, et qui me paroît fort
défectueuse du Côté de la correction et de l'exactitude.
J'en excepte ce qu'a fait M. Addison et quelques autres
beaux esprits Anglois de notre temps." 83)

Van Effen then asks Des Maizeaux to obtain Addison's
personal opinion of the dissertation, and it appears that
Van Effen, who almost worshipped Addison, had never actually
met him. It is a curious thing that Des Maizeaux continually
appears in the background of various activities connected
with the early publicizing of English literature for French
readers, even though he is not directly involved. This
letter, for example, establishes contact between him and Van
Effen, and suggests that he may have acted as the latter's
guide into English literary life, a function which he
undoubtedly performed for other French writers, and may
have contributed to the knowledge underlying the famous

82) English Influences in Dutch Literature.

83) MS. 4283/200-201.

Dissertation. There is another interesting piece of evidence for this in the Journal Littéraire itself, apparently overlooked by Dr. Pienaar. It is a brief account of the English habit of bestowing favours and public offices on men of letters (here one thinks of Voltaire), printed in the London nouvelles at the end of the first part of Vol. IV. After mentioning Prior, Addison, Rowe and others, the writer adds : -

"Je pourrai vous entretenir un jour plus au long sur nos Poètes et sur leurs ouvrages ..Je.m' imagine que si on vous fournissoit la matière, une Dissertation sur la Poésie Angloise ne seroit pas moins agréable aux François et autres Etrangers que cette dissertation sur la Poésie Hollandaise qu'on a vue dans votre Journal de Janvier et Février de cette année." 84)

This was written in 1714, a year before Van Effen's visit to England, according to the chronology worked out by Dr. Pienaar, and it is almost certainly the work of Des Maizeaux. In the light of this, it is significant that Van Effen should then come to England, meet Des Maizeaux and on his return to Holland promptly publish a Dissertation sur la Poésie Angloise. It certainly seems reasonable to believe that Des Maizeaux first inspired the Dissertation, and that he did in fact "fournir la matière" to his colleague of the Journal Littéraire. It should be added, however, that in his

84) J-L Vol. IV. Pt. 1. pp. 212-3.

letter to Des Maizeaux, Van Effen mentions conversations with Phillips on the subject of English poetry. Nevertheless whether it was Des Maizeaux or not, the London correspondent of the Journal certainly deserves honourable mention for making the first suggestion for such an important contribution to the knowledge of Shakespeare.

Dr. Pienaar suggests that Van Effen himself contributed some of the London news to the Journal Littéraire in 1715, because of a noticeable increase in the attention paid to poetry and "pure" literature - especially to Pope and Addison. Although this cannot in any case concern the suggestion for the Dissertation, there is something to be said for the idea on grounds of general probability. On the other hand, interest in Pope and Addison also shows a marked increase in the news-letters of the other periodicals, which were certainly supplied by Des Maizeaux, and a tendency to praise Pope may well owe something to Des Maizeaux's desire to flatter the Tory writers at the time of his connection with Harley and the Treasury. In fact the first reference to Pope in the Journal Littéraire is a short and approving account of him, mentioning particularly the forthcoming Iliad, the Essay on Criticism and the Rape of the Lock, which occurs in the same report as the suggestion for the Dissertation. From that, at least, Van Effen is ruled out. In 1715, this is followed by another paragraph of praise : -

"On voit ici un autre Auteur Anglois, qui dans un âge fort peu avancé se distingue extrêmement par la justesse et par le brillant de son esprit. C'est Mr. Pope, âgé d'environ vingt-six ans. Il a fait des Eclogues admirables, en gardant un juste milieu entre Virgile et Fontenelle. The Temple of Fame est encore une pièce qui lui a attiré des applaudissemens et qui le rend digne d'occuper une des meilleures places dans un lieu dont il a fait un tableau si magnifique." 85)

Then follows an offer to send abstracts of the Essay on Criticism and the Rape of the Lock, and the plan of the Homer translation. This might conceivably have been written by Van Effenx, but unfortunately for Dr. Pienaar's theory, it follows a paragraph praising Addison and, parenthetically, Newton, in which the following sentence occurs with reference to Addison's Cato.

"Des personnes d'une capacité distinguée, qui entendent notre Langue, quoique accoutumées à n'admirer que les Tragiques François, conviennent que tout au moins cette pièce va de pair avec ce que Corneille et Racine ont fait de meilleur dans ce genre."

This seems to be written from the English point of view, a fact which would again rule out Van Effen. Moreover, the paragraph on Pope can also be found word for word in Nouvelles Littéraires 86) - yet another indication of a common source of English literary news.

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85) J-L, Vol. VI. Pt.2 pp. 507-8.

86) N-L. Nov. 2. 1715. This paragraph probably appeared first in the J-L, a significant point since it is Du Sauzet's journal which is known definitely to have received its reports from DM.

In the Journal Littéraire, interest in Pope is stimulated by a long and appreciative review of his Iliad, which may well be the work of Van Effen, but more praise of him occurs in 1717 in London correspondence, long after Van Effen's return to Holland ⁸⁷⁾. Altogether, there is no convincing evidence that the latter wrote the London news for the Journal, during his stay in England. This interest in Pope is reflected also in the Histoire Critique, with a short abstract of the first four books of the Iliad, apparently one of four articles sent together by Des Maizeaux to Masson ⁸⁸⁾. It contains a flattering reference to the late Earl of Halifax which seems to stamp it as the work of Des Maizeaux himself. There are two other passing references to this work in the London news, and Trévoux offers three similar examples ⁸⁹⁾. Among the odd editions which Des Maizeaux notes are the one of Spenser already mentioned in connection with the Dutch Poekzael, and Urry's Oxford edition of Chaucer, which he did not live to complete. The subscription proposals for it are publicized in Des Maizeaux's reports to all the journals, but the Histoire Critique leads the field by printing, under the

87) The review appears in Vol. VIII Pt.1. Art.1. 1716. A favourable mention occurs in the J-L Vol. IX Pt.2. 1717, in the London letter, pp. 475-480, which also refers to the Bangorian Controversy and Collins' Inquiry.

88) Hist. Crit. Vol. X Art.12 and the London nouvelles in Vol. XI.

89) Trévoux, Dec. 1715, p.2409; Dec. 1766; March 1717 p.509.

Oxford rubric, the first 42 lines of Chaucer's Prologue, as an example of 15th century English - not the least extraordinary item served up to French readers 90).

This short account of the purely literary aspect of Des Maizeaux's reporting at this period would not be complete without reference to a famous controversy in which he was certainly involved, and which played no small part in drawing the attention of the French public to the existence of a literature in England. This was the affair of Addison's Cato, in which Des Maizeaux would naturally be interested through the friendship (or patronage) of the distinguished author. Des Maizeaux's belief in the literary riches of his adopted country may perhaps be inferred from the following observation in a London report of the Journal Littéraire.

"C'est un malheur pour les beaux Esprits de ce pais que leur langue soit en quelque sorte restreinte dans les mêmes bornes que leurs Isles; c'est en même temps un bonheur pour les Auteurs François, qui peut-être par cela seul, restent en possession de surpasser les autres peuples en matiere de bel-esprit."

91

Addison's Cato was a test case, the best example of an attempt at a regular classical tragedy in English, without the "excesses" which were so shocking to the French mind.

90) Hist. Crit. Vol. X. under the Oxford heading.

91) J-L. Vol. VI. Pt.2 p.502 etc.

The interest taken in it by the refugees was heightened by the dogmatic utterance of Dacier, in the preface to his Horace, to the effect that the English were incapable of producing good Tragedy. Cato was soon translated into French prose by Boyer, and Armand Dubourdieu, a refugee minister, prepared a verse translation which, however, was not published. It is in referring to this latter translation that a Des Maizeaux news-letter first sets up Addison against the judgment of Dacier. Although he doubts whether either translation will convince Dacier, he criticizes the latter's too-strong opinion.

"Je ne vous enverrai pas présentement une longue réponse à ce jugement injurieux. J'espère que M. Addison en nous donnant Scipion, autre Tragédie qu'il prépare pour le Public, châtierra ce hardi Censeur comme il le mérite." 92)

In 1715 the Journal Littéraire printed the remarks already quoted with reference to Van Effen, praising Cato, but with the following reservation :

"Quelque bonne que soit cette pièce de Théâtre, il y a à douter si c'est ce que Mr. Addison a fait de meilleur; son Esprit ne brille pas moins dans le genre Héroïque que dans le Tragique." 93)

Then follows praise of The Campaign, Rosamonde and - significantly - of "une Epître à Mylord Lallifax, le Mécène d'Angleterre". The selection of the latter piece certainly looks like the work of Des Maizeaux, always seeking to flatter

92) Hist. Crit. Vol. V. 1714. pp. 381-2.

93) J-L. Vol. VI. Pt.2. p.506.

his patrons. This brief notice forebushadows the treatment of Addison in Van Effen's Dissertation, which is, with one exception, the most important contribution to the controversy in the French journals, and has received appropriate attention from Dr. Pienaar 94).

At this point, however, the controversy was complicated by the appearance in 1715 of a Caton d'Utique by the French playwright Deschamps, which set up a standard of comparison for the English play, and was immediately seized upon as such by somebody unknown. What followed is curious, and somewhat obscure, but the net result was a good measure of publicity for Addison's play; for there suddenly appeared a Parallèle des deux Tragédies nouvelles dont la Mort de Caton est le sujet in a totally unexpected quarter - the Paris Nouveau Mercure 95 Galant, which had hitherto virtually ignored English Literature. This was probably the first comparative criticism of a French and an English play to appear in a French periodical, and what is more, Des Maizeaux was "accused" of having written it. This would not matter particularly but for the fact that the criticism defends Deschamps' play as the better of the two.

94) The Cato polemic is discussed at length by Dr. Pienaar. op. cit. p. 210 etc.

95) Nouv. Merc. Gal. March 1715 Pt. 1. pp. 62-127. See
S. Lovering: L'Activité intellectuelle de l'Angleterre
d'après l'ancien Mercure de France. pp. 16-17.

It is not a trifling criticism either, but fills about 65 pages of the Mercur. Nor, in spite of excessive praise of the now-forgotten French play, is it a bad criticism, for it does, by a long process of comparison, point out the admitted weaknesses of Addison's play, its episodic nature, and the love-scenes which, from the traditional point of view, destroy the unity and make it three plays in one.

The piece is cast in the form of a "Lettre à Mylord---" and begins by taking a line not unlike Des Maizeaux's reference to Dacier in the Histoire Critique.

"Vous vous plaignez, Mylord, fort vivement, que M. Dacier ait décidé qu'il ne faut pas attendre des Anglois une bonne Tragédie ... touché de vos plaintes, Mylord, j'ay examiné cette décision; elle m'a paru aussi fausse qu'elle est injurieuse à la Nation Angloise." 96)

Some appreciation of the English spirit is revealed, modified, of course, by the usual reservations of French taste.

"S'il (Dacier) avoit pénétré le génie anglois, il seroit convaincu qu'il est tout tragique, et qu'il n'y a pas peut-être de Nation plus capable de donner aux pièces de Théâtre le terrible des pièces Grecques; d'ailleurs la Langue Angloise a une force, une abondance, une liberté qui convient au Théâtre; il faudra, je l'avoue, que les Anglois captivent un peu leur imagination fouguese sous le joug des règles, qu'ils ne se permettent plus de Métaphores outrées, qu'ils prennent garde de tomber dans certaines bassesses que les Poètes Grecs n'ont pas assez évitées; qu'ils se défassent des idées romanesques. S'ils parviennent à se corriger de ses défauts, et ils y parviendront, le Théâtre Anglois égalera le Théâtre François; il ne l'a pas encore

96) Mercur, March 1715, p. 62. 62.

égalé, souffrez que je le dise, souffrez même que je le
prouve par un Parallèle du Caton Anglois de M. Addison
et du Caton de M. Deschamps." 97)

For 1715, this is quite a noteworthy and encouraging
judgment from a French critic; the question is, did Des
Maizeaux write it? According to himself, the answer is -
no. As evidence of this, a draft letter exists among his
papers, bearing no address, but obviously written to Addison
himself 98). It is a long and extraordinary farrago of every
degree of flattery and injured-innocence, a monumental
example of Des Maizeaux at his worst.

"Il seroit difficile de vous exprimer la surprise où
je me trouvai hier, lorsqu'on me dit que vous croyiez
que j'étois l'Auteur du Parallèle de votre Tragédie
de Caton avec celle de Mr. Deschamps. Serait-il
possible (ai-je dit d'abord en moi-même) que Mr.
Addison, dont la justice et l'équité sont si reconnues,
me eût capable d'une action comme celle-là, après
toutes les bontés qu'il a eues pour moi, et après
toutes les protestations d'estime, de respect, et de
reconnaissance que je lui ai faites, et dont je lui ai
encore donné des marques ce matin? Mais quand même
il s'imagineroit que j'aurois le coeur assez gâté pour
commettre une action si lâche et si indigne, pourroit-
il croire que je voulusse m'en rendre coupable à
l'égard d'une personne que je fais gloire de reconnoître
dans le Monde pour mon Patron; et qui est en effet la
principale, ou plutôt la seule personne sur la bien-
veillance et la recommandation de laquelle je puisse
compter? - - - Commente-t-il donc pu se persuader que
j'aie été capable de composer cet Ecrit, et en même
temps de m'empresser à le lui faire voir; de le
solliciter de m'en fournir une réfutation; et de lui
témoigner que j'entraîs avec zèle et avec ardeur dans

97) Mercur, March 1715 p.67.

98) MS. 4289/127-8.

tout ce qui regardoit sa réputation et sa gloire ? Tout cela demande une effronterie, une impudence, et une fourberie, dont j'ose dire que ceux qui ne connoissent le mieux, ne m'ont jamais crû capable - - - "

There is much more of this rhetoric, until he does finally work up to a declaration that he never saw the criticism until its appearance in the Mercur, that it is not in his style, and that there is a plot to discredit him. He then offers a suggestion as to the author :

"L'Auteur ne s'est pas nommé, mais ce pourroit bien être l'Auteur même du Mercur Galant, qui s'érige quelquefois en Critique, et se mêle de juger des ouvrages qui paroissent."

He also talks of sending for proofs that the parallel was written in Paris - but hopes that this will not be necessary ! Perhaps he had reason to hope so; a denial is entitled to be accepted at face value, but the impression left by this one is that the journalist doth protest too much. As for the suggestion that the parallel was written by the author of the Mercur, it is not merely lame; it is palpable nonsense, for in that journal, this criticism of an English work comes as a real bolt from the blue. Moreover, the one guess that might justifiably be hazarded concerning it, is that it originated in England. The article itself is not very helpful, although it may be observed that the epistolary form is a characteristic device of Des Maizeaux, and it could quite well have been addressed to a genuine "Mylord" - Halifax, for example. It is true that the writer speaks of "vos poètes, Mylord" and

affects not to be qualified to criticize the English play from the linguistic point of view, but the latter affirmation is suspect in view of his obvious grasp of English dramatic style, displayed elsewhere. On the whole, one is inclined to think that if rumour attributed the piece to Des Maizeaux, it was not without some good reason. At least one would imagine that he, of all people, would be in a position to tell Addison who really was the author of it, if it were not himself. But in any case, if he had ventured imprudently upon what was after all a legitimate criticism, and nothing to be ashamed of, as criticism, Des Maizeaux's next move was a swift volte-face, presumably under the impetus of his patron's anger. Through the agency of Du Lauzet, he now published in Nouvelles Littéraires a short article extolling Addison's play at the expense of its French rival.⁹⁹⁾ It appeared as a supplement ("from Paris") giving scenes of the play as translated by Du Rca and Boyer, with a préambule in favour of Addison, denying that the opinion expressed in the parallel was that generally held in Paris¹⁰⁰⁾. Thus

99) N-L Oct. 17. 1716. P. 337.

100) D^M's connection with this article is proved by letters of Du Lauzet, one of which, dated Aug. 7, 1716, asks for the préambule. Ms. 4287/336. Du Lauzet seems to have annoyed or frightened D^M. by toning down some of the criticisms of Deschamps. Ms. 4287/342. Oct. 30. 1716. It is possible that commercial motives played some part in this Cato rivalry. An English translation of Deschamps' play was made by Ozell, with whom D^M. had

ended this comic affair, which is the last evidence of contact between Des Maizeux and Addison, and one of the lighter aspects of his second period of journalism.

The scope of Des Maizeux's news-service had been suddenly widened by the development of this group of periodicals within a short space of time. It was almost as quickly restricted again by force of circumstances which led to their discontinuation, one by one. Masson's Histoire Critique was the first to go, as the result of the death of Desbordes, the publisher, in February 1718 ¹⁰¹). Du Sauzet, increasingly preoccupied by the demands of the publishing side of his business, resolved in March 1719 to bring Nouvelles Littéraires to an end. It was not abandoned at once, however, for the Journal Littéraire was also in difficulties. Van Effen had taken over the direction of the latter journal since his return from England, but had quarrelled with Johnson, and Du Sauzet hoped to engage him to direct a quarterly journal to take the place both of his own original Nouvelles Littéraires and the Journal Littéraire. A few quarterly numbers of the Nouvelles did follow, but after being let down by Van Effen and other collaborators, Du Sauzet gave up the struggle in

100) (continued)

dealings at about this time. Johnson had a stake in the matter, too, and the famous parallel may have been engineered as a publicity device.

101) MS. 4286/213. De la Motte to DM. Feb. 22. 1718.

1720, and sold the journal ¹⁰²⁾. This ended Des Maizeaux's work as his correspondent in England, which had been languishing for some time, although he continued to act with Du Sauzet in promoting translations and publications. The English correspondence in the Journal Littéraire petered out in 1719, although the periodical lingered on in Johnson's hands for a year or two. As for the Journal des Savants, its temporary decay and indifference to England have already been discussed. It is interesting to note, however, that this falling-off is distinctly reflected in the Mémoires de Trévoux from about 1720 to 1721, though not quite to the same extent. This is some indication of how the attention paid to England by the French journalists depended ultimately on the activities of representatives on the spot. Des Maizeaux is undoubtedly the key to the situation, and the decline of his journalistic activity at the end of the second decade of the century resulted probably from his other commitments, particularly to Collins, for his collaboration with the freethinker must have begun to make heavy demands on his time.

Des Maizeaux's work was not, however, confined to literary reporting, nor is that the only indication of his

102) The circumstances leading to the conclusion of Nouvelles Littéraires can be traced from Du Sauzet's letters in no. 4288.

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position as an intermediary in the literary traffic between England and the continent. He was also an intermediary in a more personal sense, and to appreciate this aspect of his function, one must now turn to a more general account of his correspondence and social background.

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Chapter VII.

THE RAINBOW GROUP AND SOME OTHERS.

It is not easy to attempt to assess the personal influence of Des Maizeaux in Anglo-French relations over a period of more than forty years, since it is so closely bound up with the activity of the refugees as a group. Yet he has been accepted as perhaps the outstanding figure of this group, and his papers contain so many valuable indication of his contribution, made through correspondence and personal contacts, that it cannot be overlooked, although it involves so many miscellaneous relationships with both Englishmen and Frenchmen, that some process of selection is necessary.

It is as well to begin by summing up his relations with Englishmen, of which the preceding chapters have given some idea, thus filling in some of the gaps in the biographical background down to about the time of Collins' death. They fall into several categories, of which one of the most striking is his association with prominent and influential aristocrats, who could offer hopes of material prosperity. To them Des Maizeaux, like most of his kind, was prepared, and perhaps obliged to grovel. It was an unpleasing characteristic of the time, and he is not to be harshly judged for following the examples which surrounded him. It was not his fault that he was born to a life of poverty-stricken exile, and

considering that he must have been daily confronted with the spectacle of men less learned and intelligent than himself enjoying their prosperity, he seems to have remained singularly free from bitterness. Only once does he talk in terms of "le malheur qui me persécute" ¹⁾, and appears to have genuinely adopted that philosophical resignation which he professed to Shaftesbury. The latter was his first patron, and was, as has been seen, followed by Halifax. The affair of his pension shows that he had also gained the goodwill of Marlborough's son-in-law, Sunderland, apparently soon after attaching himself to Addison. The only record of personal contact with Sunderland, apart from some letters sent to him by way of Sunderland's office, occurs in connection with a work which appears never to have been listed among Des Maizeau publications. This was an edition of the erotic Latin verse of the 16th century Paris advocate Jean Bonafons the Elder (Bonafonius), who in the estimation of Ménage was not unworthy of comparison with Catullus. On June 16, 1716 Des Maizeaux wrote to Sunderland :

"J'ai l'honneur de vous renvoyer la Bibliothèque de Du Verdier et les deux exemplaires de Bonafons; et je remercie très humblement votre Grandeur, de la grâce qu'elle m'a faite de me les prêter. L'avantage de me trouver entre les Mains un Livre aussi rare.

1) MS. 4289/189-190, draft to an unknown correspondent.
1727 (7)

que la Bibliothèque de Du Verdier m'a engagé dans diverses recherches qui m'offrant toujours de nouveaux objets m'ont fait garder cet Ouvrage beaucoup plus longtemps que je n'aurois dû. Je vous supplie, Mylord, de me le pardonner. Le dessein que j'ai de donner une nouvelle édition des Poésies de Bonnefons m'a rendu coupable de la même faute à l'égard des deux Exemplaires de ses oeuvres que vous avez bien voulu me communiquer." 2)

An edition of Bonnefons was published in 1720 by Jonson and Watts, consisting of the Basia and Poemata, with a Latin preface dated London, October 1719, and notes in French. It is confirmed as the work of Des Maizeaux by scattered fragments of his manuscript buried among Birch's papers 3), and is an instance of the refugee's interest in the more obscure literature of the 16th century. It is curious that Bonnefons should bloom again in London, and Des Maizeaux's initiative seems to have led to a revival of general interest, for another edition appeared at Amsterdam (possibly Paris) in 1726, although this too may have been the work of Des Maizeaux. It is amusing to note also a "curlicized" version in 1721, translated as Pancharis Queen of Love : or Woman Unveil'd, - a tribute to Curll's instinct for publishing anything approaching the salacious.

2) MS. 4289/154-5. Copy of letter to Sunderland.
June 16, 1716.

3) Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 4272/53, 56, 57, 59; 4299/85-6;
4457/215-16.

It was, then, partly to Sunderland that Des Maizeaux owed the opportunity of working on Bonefons, but he did not patronize the Frenchman in the sense that Halifax did. After the latter's death, the political connection was replaced to some extent by the protection of Lord Chief Justice Parker, although Des Maizeaux's precise relationship to this prominent figure cannot be satisfactorily determined. Agnew, in his Protestant Exiles affirms that he was employed as tutor to Parker's son, the second Earl of Macclesfield, later to gain distinction first as an astronomer, as President of the Royal Society, and the man responsible for the reform of the calendar in England. This, however, seems to be a conjecture based on letters from other persons referring to the post of tutor ⁴⁾, and there is no proof that Des Maizeaux himself was ever formally employed in that capacity. He may have given the young man instruction from time to time, but could hardly have done more, since the period of his closest association with Parker was also that of his most frequent and prolonged absences with Collins at Baddow Hall. He was, however, very close to Parker, to whom he was of service in various ways, by supplying books and periodicals ⁵⁾, and perhaps by translating legal documents; he certainly did this

4) e.g. MS. 4283/145. Degulhon to DM. Jan. 20. 1717.

5) MS. 4287/212. Parker to DM. Feb. 15. 1716.

on one occasion ⁶⁾. The Lord Chief Justice had rapidly become a favourite with George I, and in March 1716 was created Baron Macclesfield. As a suitable accompaniment to this elevation, he bought Shirburn Castle, beneath the Oxfordshire slopes of the Chilterns, and there Des Maizeaux spent most of the summer of 1716, perhaps arranging and cataloguing his patron's magnificent library ⁷⁾. By such means he seems to have become quite intimate with Macclesfield, who in the following December is found inviting him to dine, and "take a piece of Christmase pye" ⁸⁾. Des Maizeaux himself has left a character of his patron, in the draft of a letter to John Chamberlayne, written when Macclesfield had climbed yet higher

6) MS. 4287/216. Parker to DM. 1715 (?) "I think myself obliged to you for your excellent translation of ye Kensington Petition and yr. kind manner of doing it." This note commissions DM. to obtain books.

MS. 4289/56. Hugh Wrottesley to DM. March 22. 1715 (?) mentions a "Case and Petition" which he offered to translate.

7) MS. 4287/214. Parker to DM. Sept. 20. 1717.
MS. 4281/2. Abbadie to DM., no year given.

8) MS. 4287/210. Parker to DM. Dec. 27. 1716.

"Vous savez aussi bien que moi (et ce n'est pas peu dire, car je sai par des preuves indubitables) que personne n'a, peut-être, jamais eu un plus grand fond de bonté et d'humanité que Mylord Chancelier. Il ne cherche dans les hommes que ce qu'ils peuvent avoir de bon, pour le faire valoir; toujours prêt à pardonner ou à excuser les fautes qu'ils commettent involontairement ou par une suite de l'infirmité humaine. Ce qui exciteroit dans les autres de l'indignation ou du mépris, ne produit en lui que de la compassion et de l'indulgence." 9)

By virtue of his position, Macclesfield was obliged to profess the purest orthodoxy, whether genuine or not, and Des Maizeaux's account finds a complement in the diary of Ralph Thoresby, who, referring to an after-dinner visit to the Lord Chief Justice, writes:

"My Lord, after a little general discourse and civilities, read most of an excellent sermon, which was most moving, especially as accented by the incomparable Lord Chief Justice, a most devout as well as learned and ingenious gentleman." 10)

It is a sad reflection on human vanity that he was to go down to posterity as one of "the three greatest rouges ever known in England - Jack Chepherd, Jonathan Wild and Tom Parker", all products of Staffordshire. The conversation at Macclesfield's table was, however, of a learned order, to judge from a note in Des Maizeaux's writing :

9) MS. 4289/156-7. Ed. to Chamberlayne, June 19. 1718.

10) Diary of Ralph Thoresby. Ed. Hunter. Vol. II.
pp.251-2.

"J'ai passé ici pour vous dire que j'allois de ce pas chez Mylord Chancelier : ainsi vous pouvez y envoyer incessamment l'Erasme, le Philostrate et la petite Bible hébraïque; je les recevrai et les ferai voir à Mylord" 11)

Macclesfield followed the fashion of the day in patronizing scholars and writers, and through him Des Maizeaux doubtless extended his connection with English literary and political circles. Addison would be there sometimes, and he may have encountered Mandeville, also said to have been a frequent visitor 12).

There is no doubt that Des Maizeaux's hopes of a permanent post, dashed by the death of Halifax, began to rise again through his increasingly intimate association with Macclesfield. In April 1718, the Lord Chancellor, Cowper, resigned, and rumour pointed to Macclesfield as a possible successor, although he had a serious rival in Sir Joseph Jekyll. Collins wrote to Des Maizeaux :

"If he is made Chancellor, he then has it in his power to provide for you; for I think he could not well come into any post wherein he would be intitled to a greater disposition of places." 13)

After this, it is no coincidence that Des Maizeaux should at

11) Brit. Mus. Add.Ms. 4236/182. No date.

12) The best account of Macclesfield is in Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors. Vol. IV.

13) MS. 4282/145-6. Collins to DM. April 23. 1718.

once have gone to Kensington, and spent there most of the spring and summer, in close attendance on Macclesfield, and obviously waiting for some sort of appointment should the expected event take place ¹⁴⁾. During May, Macclesfield was duly nominated as Lord Chancellor, and it must have seemed to the exile that his hour had come. But again he was disappointed; he received favours from his patron, but for the next seven years seems to have hoped in vain, while posts were bestowed on those who had less need of them. It was true, as Collins observed, that the Lord Chancellor had a free hand with many appointments, and its truth was impressed upon Macclesfield himself in a melancholy manner, for it was the disposal of places, especially Masterships in Chancery, which led to his impeachment for bribery, in 1715, and ended his career with a fine of £30,000, six weeks in the Tower, and enforced retirement from public life. In the circumstances, it was perhaps as well that Des Maizeaux owed no

14) DM's movements at this time can be traced from a number of letters, some of them showing his close relations with Macclesfield, e.g. MS. 4282/63, Chamberlayne to DM. June 18, 1718, and MS. 4287/247-8. Preveran to DM. The latter thanks DM. for the Lord Chancellor's packet for General Palmer at Dresden. This suggests that Macclesfield may have employed DM. on official business, but there is no confirmation.

appointment to him, although it is probable that Macclesfield had only followed the example of some of his predecessors; it is to the credit of the refugee that he appears to have remained loyal to the fallen idol, although his disaster meant his own final disappointment ¹⁵⁾. It may be added, however, that the influence of Macclesfield was probably responsible for one honour which came Des Maizeaux's way, although unfortunately for him it was not of a remunerative nature. On July 18, 1722 a warrant was issued admitting Mr. Peter Des Maizeaux "into the place and quality of Gentleman of his Majesty's most hon'ble Privy Chamber in Ordinary" ¹⁶⁾. Unfortunately the public records give no

15) In 1725 DM. expressed his intention to dedicate an edition of St. Evremont to Macclesfield - "qui malgré tout le fracas qu'on a fait contre lui, ne me paroît coupable d'autre chose que d'avoir agi comme ses prédécesseurs par rapport à certains abus qui regnoient dans la Cour de Chancellerie." MS. 4289/181. DM. to De la Motte. July 6. 1725.

His disappointment is shown, however, in the following remarks from a draft letter of Nov. 19. 1727 (?) : - "je m'estimerois toujours heureux de pouvoir être utile en quelque chose à M^r. M.; étant aussi sensible que je le suis à toutes les marques de bonté qu'il m'a donné (sic) et de qui (sans le malheur qui est arrivé) j'avois lieu d'en attendre d'avantage, fondé sur les bienfaits dont il a.... comblé tant d'autres personnes qui n'en avoient pas besoin comme moi." MS. 4289/189.

16) MS. 4289/104 is a copy of the warrant. There seems to be some mystery about this appointment, which is not confirmed by the public records. Then DM. intended to resign it, his successor was unable to find his name in the list at the Lord Chamberlain's office. (MS. 4288/180). On the other hand, DM's copy of the warrant is undoubtedly genuine, and bears a note of the date when he took the

evidence as to the circumstances of this appointment, but it is reasonable to assume that Macclesfield had a hand in it, although a note from Des Maizeaux to Sloane in 1720 suggests that he was then courting the good opinion of the Lord Chamberlain himself, the Duke of Newcastle ¹⁷⁾."

Through Shaftesbury, Halifax, Sunderland and Macclesfield, and on a slightly lower plane, through such people as Sir Berkely Lucy and the Duttons of Sherborne, Des Maizeaux had a continuous link with the higher circles of London society. Shaftesbury, Toland and Collins are the key to his association with the freethinking element, and to these may be added a fourth figure, - Thomas Gordon, the "Independent Whig", said to be "Silenus" of the Dunciad. It was Gordon who gave to rationalism a more radical and viciously anti-clerical expression, although he began as a Tory, attached to Harley, at which stage Des Maizeaux may have first known him ¹⁸⁾. The Bangorian Controversy brought

16) (contd.)

oath. It was probably by virtue of this office that M. was called upon to prepare a loyal address to George II on his accession, in the name of the French exiles. MS. 4289/185-6.

17) Brit. Mus. Sloane MS. 4045/309. M. to Sloane, March 26. 1720.

18) See J. M. Bulloch's monograph Thomas Gordon, the Independent Whig.

him into prominence as a radical pamphleteer, with such works as A Modest Apology for Parson Alberoni, duly noted in Des Maizeaux's news-letters ¹⁹⁾. Des Maizeaux probably encountered him, with Toland, in the coffee-houses, where he is reputed to have met his collaborator, the Whig politician Trenchard. As in the case of Toland, there is no doubt correspondence to tell of their relations ²⁰⁾, but from letters of De la Motte, it appears that Des Maizeaux was intermediary between Gordon and Jean Barbeyrac ²¹⁾. This being so, it is probable that he had a hand in the publication in English of Barbeyrac's Traité de la Morale des Pères, which appeared in 1722 as The Spirit of Ecclesiasticks of all Sects and ages as to the Doctrines of Morality, with a preface by Gordon castigating the

19) eg. N.-L. Vol. X. PT.2 p.530. 1719.

20) It is unfortunate that there is no detailed evidence concerning the relations between DM. and Gordon. The latter was certainly closely linked with DM's other freethinking friends, and his pamphlets were probably the fruits of general discussion among them. Toland, for example, in a letter to Molesworth (?) (Add. MS. 4465/34-5) mentions some verses from Buchanan which adorn the titlepage of the Modest Apology, and sends more examples from obscure writers of "strokes against the priests". DM. also is careful to quote these verses in Nouvelles Littéraires. This may well be another case where DM. "collected passages out of books" for the freethinkers. Collins was involved as well, possibly as the unknown "C" who contributed to the Independent Whig, although in his monograph (p.29) Bulloch inclines somewhat oddly to the view that this was Arthur Collins of the Peerage.

21) MS. 4286/248-9. De la Motte to DM. Sept. 20.1723. contd.

"contradictory Ravings and Declamations of the Fathers, who have equally perverted the religion of Jesus and the Religion of Nature." Some years later, Des Maizeaux promoted the translation by his Friend Daudé of Gordon's Discourses on Tacitus, another anti-clerical work, by introducing Daudé to Gordon as a suitable translator ²²⁾.

His connection with the more purely literary element in London society is, of course, best exemplified by what has been traced of his dealings with Steele and Addison. Through them, he must have known distinguished members of the Buttons and Kit-Cat groups, including, certainly, Garth and the diplomat Stanyan, and lesser figures such as Tickell and Phillips, and so on through the ranks of the "Republick of Letters" down to the Ozells, and the hack-translators and journalists. None of these categories of associations is really distinct, for the thread of literary interest runs through all of them and, after all, the literary life of the capital went on in a restricted area. But one side of Des Maizeaux's activities does stand slightly apart, namely his dealings with the learned, and particularly with members of the Royal Society, the object of one of his earliest ambitions:

21) (contd.)

DM.~~ix~~ proposed to send the Independent Whig to Barbeyrac.
MS. 4286/270-71, May 1715, mention friendly exchanges of books between Barbeyrac, Gordon and DM.

22) MS. 4283/61-2. Daudé to DM. no date.

After his early association with Sloane, Des Maizeaux saw rather less of the famous doctor, as the latter's reputation increased and brought him into court-circles, but if the weekly conferences at Killigrew's did not last very long, Des Maizeaux never lost touch with Sloane, and frequent took foreign visitors to see his famous collection of curiosities. A few scattered letters prove the connection throughout Des Maizeaux's life - an appeal for help at a time of illness, a note enquiring into a case of blindness reported in the Tatler, the dedication of the 1720 Recueil, and so on ²³⁾. There seems to have been no special relationship between them beyond a common interest in literary and other curiosities. Des Maizeaux's taste for antiquarian studies probably brought him into contact with Rymer, and led him to publicize such writings as Thoresby's Ducatus Leodensis. He certainly met and admired Thoresby ²⁴⁾, whose diary gives a good idea of the type of learned society which Des Maizeaux frequented, including miscellaneous writers such as John Chamberlayne, and specialists of the type of Martin Folkes, the mathematician, eccentric personalities like "Orator"

23) His letters to Sloane are in Sloane MSS. 4037, 4038, 4042, 4044, 4045, 4053, 4056, 4058.

24) Toland : Collection of several pieces. 1726. Vol. II. pp. 436-8.

Henley ²⁵⁾, and, probably, the geologist and Gresham College professor John Woodward. The latter was a protégé of Des Maizeaux's quondam employer Barwick, and a friend of the Duttons, and the refugee probably came to know him through that connection. After twenty years of waiting on the perimeter of the charmed circle, Des Maizeaux at last realized his ambition, and in November 1720 was elected to the Royal Society. Here again the archives are silent, and no details are available concerning his election or nomination. Perhaps he owed that also to Macclesfield, or perhaps to his friend De Moivre, or to Sloane, or even to the great Sir Isaac himself - for a personal link with Newton is not the least interesting episode of Des Maizeaux's story. If Voltaire was the great Newtonian publicist in France, Des Maizeaux must be credited with making the great man's name known to many French readers, by republishing in his Recueil de Pièces sur la Philosophie, in 1720, the famous dispute between Newton and Leibniz over the infinitesimal calculus; this enterprise has an added interest by reason of the personal backing, albeit not too enthusiastic, of Newton. As a demonstration of Des Maizeaux's activity as a publicist both in print and by

25) Chamberlayne was another member of Macclesfield's circle. Henley was concerned in the English version of Montfaucon's *Diarium Italicum*, in which DM. also had an interest. DM. 4285/263. Montfaucon to DM., and Royal Library, Copenhagen, MSS. Boll. Brevs. U4 ° 229. DM. to Montfaucon. July-Aug. 1723.

personal contact, it is worth recording even at the price of a digression.

How or when Des Maizeaux first met Newton personally is not known; it might have been through Halifax or Macclesfield, but was more probably through his fellow-exile Abraham De Moivre, the mathematician, who, handicapped by his foreign origin, lived poorly by tutorial work. De Moivre was a favoured disciple of Newton, who is reputed to have been in the habit of calling for the Frenchman at the coffee-house, on his way back from the Grecian where most of the Royal Society members used to meet, and of taking him off for philosophical discussions. Thus Des Maizeaux probably had ample opportunity of meeting Newton even before his own election to the Royal Society. Most of the references to his dealings with Newton occur in the letters of Du Sauzet of Nouvelles Littéraires, who published Des Maizeaux's Recueil. This collection included already the controversies of Clarke with Collins and Leibniz, and the whole idea of thus laying before the French public in an objective manner both sides of controversies going on in the outside and largely unknown world, was a publicity device ahead of its time, for which Des Maizeaux deserves credit. Like most of his publications, it brought him little profit, and seems to have exposed him to the charge of being merely

officious, whereas he acted from genuine interest ²⁶⁾.

As an admirer of both Newton and Leibniz, he appears to have been fascinated by this battle of giants over their mathematical discoveries, and had already publicized in the journals the relevant Commercium Epistolicum ²⁷⁾ published by the Royal Society after an enquiry in which his friend Chamberlayne had acted for Leibniz. This controversy was obviously suitable material for the Recueil, and was probably incorporated in the plan in 1718. To help in assembling the material, he obtained the co-operation of the Italian philosopher Abbé Conti, who had been much involved in the business, and also approached Newton directly in the hope of obtaining some new observations, although Leibniz was, of course, dead. Newton evidently approved Des Maizeaux's plan to reprint the pieces forming the controversy, but his reception of the suggestion that he should add to them is not so certain. According to Conti his response was favourable, at first :

26) When the Recueil appeared, Du Sauzet was pessimistic about its prospects (MS. 4288/47), but in 1731 DM. could write : "Il est certain que ce Recueil a été bien reçu, qu'il manque, et comme je croi, qu'il s'en débiteroit bientôt une autre édition." Bibl. du Protestantisme Français. MS. 295, No.41. DM. to De la Motte, Aug. 27, 1731. A second edition did in fact appear.

27) e.g. J-L Vol.1. Pt.1. p. 206.

"Quand Mr. de Mesaus luy proposa de les imprimer de nouveau en Hollande, il luy donna son approbation, et dit même qu'il luy fourniroit quelque autre petit papier." 28)

On reflection, however, Newton seems to have felt differently among his papers he left the following draft for a letter, almost certainly written to Des Haizeaux, at this time, explaining his position with regard to the dispute.

"You know that when Mr. l'Abbé Conti had rec'd a letter from Mr. Leibnitz with a large postscript against me, full of accusations foreign to the question, and the p.s. was shewed to the King, and I was pressed for an answer, to be also shewed to his Majesty; and the same was afterwards sent to Mr. Leibnitz, he sent it with his answer to Paris, declining to make good his charge, and pretending that I was the aggressor, and saying that he sent those letters to Paris that he might have neutral and intelligent witnesses of what passed between us. I looked upon this as an indirect practice, and forbore writing an answer in the form of a letter to be sent to him, and only wrote some observations on his letter to satisfy my friends here that it was easy to have answered him had I thought fit to let him go on with his politicks. As soon as I heard that he was dead, I caused the letter and observations to be printed, lest they should at any time come abroad imperfectly in France. You are now upon a design of reprinting them with some other letters written at the same time, whose originals have been left in your hands for that purpose by Mr. l'Abbé Conti, for making that controversy complete, and I see no necessity of adding anything more to what has been said, especially now Mr. Leibnitz is dead."

28) Conti to Brook Taylor, May 22, 1721. quoted in Brewster's Memoirs of Newton. Vol. II pp. 432-3.

But Newton still appears to have been unable to make up his mind; to a duplicate of these remarks he added : -

" - for I have always industriously avoided disputes. If anything more were to be added, it should be what follows the following declaration." 29)

There is no trace of any declaration, and Newton's final decision was against any addition. It is clear, however, that he favoured Des Maizeaux's enterprise, and he probably furnished information for the latter's long explanatory preface. The further dealings of Newton and Des Maizeaux can be traced to some extent from Du Sauzet's letters. On July 28, 1718, the publisher dispatched the proofs of the Newton pieces, observing :

"Puisqu'il souhaite que ces feuilles soient ré-imprimées à ses dépens, vous pouvez lui dire qu'il en coûtera 80 florins." 30)

In the following November he asked for money from Newton, if the latter wanted separate off-prints, and begged Des Maizeaux to make certain of Newton's consent to the printing of Leibniz's letters 31). Newton, however, does not seem to have been too pleased with this impartiality, for in the following year, Du Sauzet wrote :

"Je suis fâché que Mr. Newton ne soit pas content, et je croyois que vous agissiez de concert avec lui." 32)

29) Brewster, op. cit. Vol. II 288-9.

30) MS. 4288/15. Du Sauzet to DM. July 28. 1718.

31) MS. 4288/16. Du Sauzet to DM. Nov. 22. 1718

32) MS. 4288/34. Du Sauzet to DM. Nov. 1. 1719.

From a further letter it appears that Newton now charged Des Maizeaux to offer Du Sauzet 12 guineas to retard the publication of the collection until the following March, as he now wished to add to the pieces concerning him ³³⁾. Du Sauzet agreed reluctantly, because he had received good offers for the book from French booksellers, but in the following January wrote :

"Je vous remercie des peines que vous avez pris pour moi, et je suis très-content du présent que Mr. Newton a la bonté de me faire." ³⁴⁾

For some reason Newton was very anxious that the collection should appear in March 1720, but it was held up by the printer, and in reply to complaints from Des Maizeaux, Du Sauzet rejected the idea that he should return Newton's money if the book did not appear to time, pointing out that he had already missed the German fairs through it ³⁵⁾.

There the matter seems to have ended, but this little piece of literary history reveals Des Maizeaux as probably the only Frenchman to have been personally involved with Newton over an actual publication. This Recueil nearly led, in fact, to trouble between Newton and another distinguished mathematician, Bernouilli, over some of the pieces, but the incipient dispute was patched up by the French geometri-
cian

33) MS. 4288/41. Du Sauzet to DM. Dec. 12. 1719.

34) MS. 4288/36. Du Sauzet to DM. Jan. 9. 1720.

35) MS. 4288/45. Du Sauzet to DM. April 2. 1720.

Varignon, with the help of Des Maizeaux and De Moivre ³⁶⁾. There were also rumours that in the end Newton was not very pleased with the collection, but concerning this Conti wrote to Des Maizeaux :

"Je suis témoin que Mr. Newton approuva fort le dessein que vous aviez de réimprimer ses lettres; s'il n'est pas content, de qui doit-il se plaindre?" ³⁷

One of the most striking aspects of Des Maizeaux's associations is their variety, and this is particularly noticeable in his relations with the learned men of England. If on the one hand he was intimate with Toland and his like, his literary activities also brought him into contact with figures of the standing of Samuel Clarke ³⁸⁾, and even with the ranks of the Bishops. Apart from the possible instance of Hoadly, the black sheep, he certainly encountered Dr. White Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough, who helped him in his researches into the life of Chillingworth ³⁹⁾. A probably apocryphal story recounted many years after his death links him also with the absent-minded Dr. Thomas, Bishop of

36) MS. 4288/202. Varignon to DM. Feb. 11. 1721, and MS. 4284/217-8, 220-1. Draft letters from DM. to Varignon. March 30. 1721.

37) MS. 4282/262-3. Conti to DM. May 2. 1721.

38) MS. 4289/166. DM. to Clarke, March 18. 1721.

39) Acknowledged by DM. in his Chillingworth. MS. 4282/67.

Chamberlayne to DM. May 24, 1719. Clarke also helped him.

Salisbury; it is probably true in the spirit, if not in the letter, and may perhaps be admitted to lighten these pages.

"The Dr. made a party once with three of his friends, almost as absent as himself, to go in a coach to Windsor. When they were in the coach, they began to dispute about some points of philosophy; and when they had got about half-way, they perceived that the coachman loitered. M. Desmaizeaux, who was one of the company, put his head out of the door, and cried to the coachman Allons done ! Allons done ! the man thought he said a London, a London, and replied, turning his horses about, "As you please, gentlemen." The debate continuing, these four learned absentees never perceived that they were going back, till they came to the turnpike that leads into London, when they found that instead of being at Windsor, where their dinner waited for them, they were very near the place from whence they set off."

40)

True or not, this anecdote serves to round off the brief survey of Des Maizeaux's acquaintances among the scholars of his adopted country, and of the general background which qualified him so well for his contributions to the task of introducing England to the French. His position as a personal intermediary is complementary to his work for the journals, and is revealed in three ways closely bound up - by correspondence, by personal contact, and by his somewhat indefinable activities as a literary agent. If the matter of what he had to offer is shown by this pattern of his English associations, the manner of doing it is inseparable

40) Gentleman's Magazine. Vol. 44. 1774. p. 628.

from the activities of the group of exiles with which he was closely connected, and to which one must now turn, although it is, of course, impossible to reconstruct these activities in set terms.

It has been noted how on his arrival in England Des Maizeaux at once gravitated towards the "coffy house" as the place where he could best assimilate the atmosphere of his new country and, in particular, keep a finger on the pulse of London's literary life. For the rest of his days he was held by the spell of the capital, and although occasional visits to the country were pleasant enough, he showed no desire to exchange London either for Ireland, where he should have been, or for the continent ⁴¹⁾. The refugees in London had, of course, their own coffee-house groups, and in spite of Des Maizeaux's wide contacts with Englishmen on every social plane, one has the impression that he was always most at home among his fellow-exiles. His own group had a shifting population, but was probably held together by a few regular members like himself. It is not clear whether in the early days they had any particular headquarters; a letter written to Des Maizeaux in 1706 suggests that they were not yet settled, but that they had frequented the Caffé de Pons.

41) Only on one occasion does DM. seem to have considered returning to Switzerland. A letter written to him in 1721 talks of "votre dessein de venir en Suisse". MS. 4281/290. It was probably never intended seriously.

"J'aurois receu, Monsieur, quelques jours plustot que je n'ay fait la Lettre dont il vous a plu de m'honorer, si vous ne l'aviez pas adressée au Caffé de Pons. Je n'y vai plus que rarement, à cause de la Multitude d'Officiers françois qui inondent non seulement ce Caffé mais qui en remplissent tellement des avenues qu'il est difficile d'en aborder." 42)

This, apparently did not quite suit the taste of the literati and in the following year some of Des Maizeaux's letters are re-addressed to the Rainbow, although there is no indication that it had as yet become the permanent meeting-place. At the time of his emergence into political circles, Des Maizeau frequented the Cockpit in Westminster, and probably Rocheport's, where foreign diplomats gathered ⁴³⁾. In 1711, the time of his connection with Queensberry, he seems actually to have been living at Douglas's Coffee House in St. Martin's Lane ⁴⁴⁾, and it is only in the years following this that the Rainbow, also in St. Martin's Lane, appears to have become the settled haunt of Des Maizeaux and his friends who were probably the dominating coterie among the clients of the establishment. The Rainbow was not only a rendezvous

42) MS. 4283/37. Pierre Daval to DM. June 8. 1706.

43) MS. 4283/197-8 and MS. 4284/45-6 confirm that DM. frequented the Cockpit and Rocheport's. Letters of J. Eldhard and St. Gelais.

44) Brit. Mus. Sloane MS. 4042/247. DM. to Sloane, Feb. 13. 1711. "Mon adresse est at Douglass's Coffee house, in St. Martin's Lane."

for the French group. Toland, for example, was to be found there, and there are indications that there was a strong freethinking element in its gatherings, although there is no proof that it was specifically a freethinking club like the Calves-Head club with which Toland is also associated ⁴⁵. The conversation of this cosmopolitan assembly was probably of a learned and literary order, and Des Maizeaux was undoubtedly a prominent figure among these "Messieurs du Parnasse". One of his acquaintances refers to him as

"un illustre membre de cette Savante Société qui s'assemble chaque soir dans le Caffé de Rainbow." ⁴⁶

But the gatherings were not always distinguished by gravity, to judge from the following remark by Des Maizeaux's particular friend Daniel Freverau, writing to him during one of his absences from London, probably when he was visiting the Duttons at Sherborne.

"Je ne saurois vous donner une plus grande idée de mes Occupations qu'en vous disant qu'il y a pres de trois semaines que je n'ay pû trouver un quart d'heure de loisir pour aller fumer ma pipe au Caffé de Rainbow. On n'y rit plus que du bout des Dents depuis que vous n'y paraissez plus." ⁴⁷⁾

This contrasts with the picture of Des Maizeaux as a "learned absentee" but confirms the much earlier letter already quoted

45) See Westerfrölke : Englische Kaffeehäuser, and Allen : Clubs of Augustan London.

46) MS. 4285/60. Daniel Maickel to DM. Feb. 2. 1722.

47) MS. 4287/252-3. Freverau to DM. Nov. 10. 1721 (?)

suggesting that he was the humorist of the party.

This Preverau, perhaps wiser than Des Maizeaux, had obtained and contented himself with a modest clerical appointment, and became a head clerk to a succession of ministers, including Townshend and the Duke of Newcastle. In this capacity, he was most useful to Des Maizeaux, as the means of free communication with the continent. Without such a means of utilizing diplomatic channels, the latter's correspondence with Holland and France would have languished under the crushing burden of post-charges, although the booksellers often provided an alternative route. The seriousness of the post-charges to these men is demonstrated by an amusing incident, when Samuel Masson wished to present copies of his Histoire Critique to Sunderland. Through the publisher's blunder, they were sent direct to him instead of through the usual channels to Des Maizeaux, with the result that Sunderland was faced with a demand for fifty shillings for the transport of books he had not ordered. Unfortunately there is no record of how Des Maizeaux mollified the irate peer, but Masson was careful not to have such a thing happen again ⁴⁸⁾.

It is impossible to determine the composition of the "Rainbow Group" at given periods; De Moivre and Coste were

48) MS. 4285/154-5. S. Masson to DM. March 16. 1714.

probably regular members, and at different times the coffee-house assembly doubtless included Le Sage, of the Remarques sur l'Angleterre, and Maximilien Misson, author of the Mémoires et Observations faites par un Voyageur en Angleterre who in 1719 refers to himself somewhat pathetically as Des Maizeaux's "ancien ami, plus solitaire que jamais, étant retenu dans sa grotte par une terrible maladie; sans parler du froid, et des boues et des fumeuses fumées de Londres." 49) Other members were drawn from professional rank notably medical men such as Silvestre, Jaiand, Buisnière and Misaubin, who lived near Covent Garden and is mentioned in Tom Jones. Then there were journalists such as La Roche and one Fonvive, said to be connected with the Postman, and men who had found their niche in humbler civil-service posts, such as one Farettes, employed in the postal-service. Then one might mention that well-known figure Motteux, the translator of Rabelais and also, at one time, in the postal service, or Philip Henry Zollmann, another member of the Cléricature, who was a useful intermediary for Des Maizeaux by his journeys abroad in the train of Bothmer and Stephen Poyntz, and who later entered the Royal Society. Among Des Maizeaux's circle must also be included a number of refugee ministers of varying

49) MS. 4285/245-6. Misson to DM. Jan. 5. 1719.

degrees of reputation, such as Durand the historian, Dubourdieu, and Durette, a controversialist who had dealings with Des Maizeaux over a translation of Chillingworth and exiled scholars like Michel Maittaire, a master of Westminster School and an authority on typography, a subject dear to Des Maizeaux himself 50).

This group of exiles was not, of course, confined to the capital. Des Maizeaux's news-letters included regular reports from Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh and sometimes Dublin, taken for the most part from English journals. But/s he had his own contacts in Dublin, in connection with his pension, and a number of acquaintances in Oxford, from whom he may have received information from time to time. One of these was the orientalist John Gagnier, formerly a canon of St. Genevieve, who had gone to England and become an Anglican clergyman. At Oxford he assisted Grabe, and finally became professor of Arabic; like Des Maizeaux, he was patronized by Macclesfield 51). One of Des Maizeaux's later contacts in

50) There are frequent, but mostly unimportant references to these men in DM's correspondence, which it would be superfluous to quote. Zollmann may be singled out as an intermediary between DM. and Matthieu Merais.

51) MS. 4283/ contains a number of letters from Gagnier to DM. some of which accompanied the latest catalogues of the Oxford press. e.g. MS. 4283/271, 273.

Oxford was with Fabre, who taught French at Magdalen ⁵²⁾, and there are hints of contacts with the philosopher Desaguliers⁵³. It may be urged that with such a loosely-connected body of men, some of them more distinguished in their own place than Des Maizeaux in his, it is invidious to single him out as in any sense a dominant personality. This is true up to a point but the weakness of the objection is revealed when one tries to define precisely what Des Maizeaux's own sphere was. He may be called simply a journalist, or a biographer, an amateur of the sciences and philosophy, or a renegade theologian, but is best summed up by Matthieu Marais, who thought him a meddling humbug, as "une espèce de courtier de savants" ⁵⁴⁾. There is, however, one thing to be said for the importance of Des Maizeaux - that everything he did was concerned with literature in some way, on the plane of writing or of publication, and that he infused into his activities as a literary go-between some sort of real passion. The refugees

52) Recorded in 1741 as "Magister Fabre, praelector linguae Gallicanae." He is mentioned in Vol. 9 of the Cambridge Hist. of Engl. Lit. to exemplify the spread of modern studies in the Universities. MS. 4283 contains his letters.

53) MS. 4282/63. Chamberlayne to DM. June 18. 1718.

54) Marais to Bouhier. Oct. 24. 1724. Journal et Mémoires de Matthieu Marais, ed. Lescure. Vol. III. p. 267.

as a whole made a great contribution to Anglo-French literary relations, but it would be difficult to suggest one who acted in such a positive and practical manner as Des Maizeaux, in promoting translations or in assiduous reporting.

To conclude the summary of the background of his position as a personal intermediary, it remains only to note his connection with an important but neglected element in the literary world - the booksellers themselves, who have never, perhaps, been more influential than during the Augustan age. At this period, the London Booksellers were distinctly grouped according to their specialities. Macky, in his Journey through England, notes that

"The Booksellers of Antient books in all languages are in Little Britain and Paternoster Row; those for Divinity and Classics on the north side of St. Paul's Cathedral; Law, History and Plays about Temple Bar; and the French Booksellers in the Strand." 55)

To the latter in particular, Des Maizeaux, with his passion for bouquinerie, must have been a familiar figure as he passed from one shop to another, usually too poor to buy books for himself, but snapping up anything "curious" for his wealthy friends, Collins or Macclesfield. The French booksellers with whom Des Maizeaux was closely allied included Henri Ribotteau, partner of the Amsterdam firm of Harret, publishers of the Bibliothèque Angloise, and the

55) Charles Knight : Shadows of the Old Booksellers, p.37.

Vaillant family at the sign of The Ship, a popular resort of the literary world, where Des Maizeaux first met Maittaire. A whole dynasty of Vaillants carried on this famous business for more than a century, and Des Maizeaux's last identifiable work was done for them ⁵⁶⁾. The most frequent references in Des Maizeaux's correspondence are to Pierre Dunoyer at Erasmus's Head, for and with whom he acted on many occasions and at a later period he seems to have had much to do with Codere and Nicolas Prévost, with whom Voltaire quarrelled during his stay in England. Among the English booksellers, Des Maizeaux was well-known to most of the more famous ones: the Tonsons, the Churchills, Lintott, Innys and Woodward, while at the other end of the scale, where "notorious" is a more appropriate term, there are, as has been seen, traces of Edmund Curll, but no definite documentary link. Curll was associated with the Boileau edition for which Des Maizeaux's Life was written, and also with the English edition of St. Evremond which he supervised.

With these connections, and his many contacts among the publishers in Holland, it is not surprising that Des

56) For an account of the Vaillant family, see Agnew : Protestant Exiles. Vol. II. p. 288. Maittaire records his meeting with M. in a letter printed in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée. Vol.6. pt. 2. p. 461.

Maizeaux should have gained also the confidence of the Paris booksellers, such as Briasson, Guérin, Ganeau and Chaubert. Thus Ganeau can be found in 1721 requesting the exile to keep him informed as to any "nouveau Voiage qui mérite d'estre traduit" - Des Maizeaux being a connoisseur of such matters. Ganeau writes:

"Vous ne sauriez croire combien celui de Robinson s'est vendu - il s'en est fait trois ou quatre éditions en France." 57)

One suspects that if one could penetrate the secret dealings between the Strand and the Rue St. Jacques, the name of Des Maizeaux would not be the least-mentioned.

Des Maizeaux's wide and varied acquaintances with politicians, scholars, scientists, journalists and publishers resulted inevitably in an extensive correspondence with men whom, as far as can be established, he never met personally, or knew only slightly. Considered purely as a literary correspondence, it is not really outstanding except in that it represents an important link between English and French literary circles at the vital formative period of the English influence in France. Although the more interesting individual exchanges have been taken as the basis of certain

57) MS. 4282/60-61. ~~Chamberlayne to Lenfant and DM.~~
~~Aug. 10 and Sept. 13, 1714.~~

MS. 4284/7-8 . Ganeau to DM. Aug. 20, 1721.

leading themes of the present study, there remains a kind of patchwork of odd single letters or small series, often bearing on specific proposals or transactions, a selection of which gives useful evidence and examples of Des Maizeaux's general position as a literary middleman, and is a necessary prelude to the consideration of his more interesting personal contacts with visitors to England.

Remembering the negotiations between the Oxford librarian Hudson, and Leers, which involved Des Maizeaux and Bayle, it is interesting to note a further appearance of Hudson in 1710, when Des Maizeaux obtained for him, with the help of Bignon and Boivin, transcriptions of manuscripts from the Royal Library in Paris, for his edition of Dionysos Periegetes ⁵⁸⁾. This may be taken as a pattern of Des Maizeaux's activity as a "courtier de savants" on an international scale, and there are records of a number of similar transactions. In 1714, for example, acting for the protestant theologian Lenfant, in Berlin, he engaged John Chamberlayne to organize a search for materials for Lenfant's Histoire du Concile de Constance, among the libraries of Harley, of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Universities ⁵⁹⁾.

58) MS. 4281/204-6, 212-6. Bignon to DM. 1710-1711;
MS. 4281/274-5, Boivin to DM.; MS. 4284/88-93, Hudson
to DM. 1711.

59) MS. 4282/60-61. Chamberlayne to Lenfant and DM.
Aug. 10 and Sept. 13, 1714.

He himself had dealings with a number of the exiles in Berlin, such as Jacob Le Duchat, a kindred spirit as a specialist in 16th century literature, for whom he obtained a translation of Motteux's notes to Rabelais, and Veissière de La Croze, orientalist and professor at the French College in Berlin. Des Maizeaux was the link between the latter and David Wilkins, Archbishop Wake's librarian at Lambeth Palace and later Professor of Arabic at Cambridge ⁶⁰⁾. He was also the intermediary between La Croze, Wilkins, Gagnier and the great scholar Montfaucon, whose researches gave a new basis to the study of antiquity. For example, in connection with Wilkins, Des Maizeaux wrote to Montfaucon : -

"Vous marquez dans votre Billet, Mon Révérend Père, que vous ne connoissez que lui dans l'Europe qui soit au fait sur ces sortes de choses. Je vous nommerai une personne, que je puis vous assurer, sans faire tort à Mr. Wilkins, en savoir infiniment plus que lui là-dessus. C'est Mr. Veyssière de La Croze, Bibliothécaire du Roi de Prusse. Mr. Wilkins a tiré de très grands secours de lui dans l'édition de son N. Testament Egyptien ou Copte. En effet il possède à fond cette Langue et tout ce qui regarde la Littérature orientale." ⁶¹⁾

This interest in orientalists and their work is a recurring element of Des Maizeaux's correspondence, and is reflected in his news-reports; one suspects more and more that it played

60) MS. 4283/20xx6 33. La Croze to H. March 4, 1716.
MS. 4283 also contains letters of Le Duchat.

61) Royal Library, Copenhagen. MSS. Bøll. Brevs. U #° 229.
DM. to Montfaucon, July 4, 1723.

an important part in his collaboration with Collins. Des Maizeaux's contact with Montfaucon began in 1722 over a projected English edition of the latter's Antiquité Expliquée following the success in England of the Di-rum Italicum; on this occasion Des Maizeaux wrote on behalf of the publishers to ask for any additions which the learned author might wish to make ⁶²⁾, and in 1735 he arranged for Montfaucon to collate Xenophon manuscripts in France for Dr. Hutchinson, vice-principal of Hart Hall, Oxford ⁶³⁾. Des Maizeaux's interest in the "works of the learned" sometimes led him to offer suggestions or corrections, as he did to Jacques Lelong, librarian of the Oratory of Paris, in connection with his Bibliotheca Sacra ⁶⁴⁾. Bayle is, of course, the classic instance of this, and another instance worth noting is Nicéron who in his voluminous memoirs on writers of all countries appears to have profited from information concerning English authors, offered to him by Des Maizeaux. Several letters from Nicéron are preserved, covering the period 1729 to 1733, and

62) Bibl. Nationale. MSS. F-Fr. 17707/212. DM. to Montfaucon Feb. 8. 1722. Brit. Mus. MS. 4285/261-3. Montfaucon to DM. March 3. 1722, Aug. 20. 1723.

63) MS. 4284/130-137. Hutchinson to DM. 1735. MS. 4281. Letters of Briasson to DM.

64) MS. 4284/352. Lelong to DM. June 3. 1720.

in 1732 he observed to Des Maizeaux that the only English writers on whom he had any information were Donne, Herbert and Toland ⁶⁵⁾. Since the Mémoires ultimately included accounts of at least forty English writers, Des Maizeaux may have helped materially in this work, although the correspondence broke down, apparently through his ill-health. Nicéron's accounts of Addison and his father are certainly derived from Des Maizeaux's Lives, written for the General Dictionary and published separately in 1733. It is possible, too, that some of Des Maizeaux's biographical notes now among Birch's papers were destined for Nicéron.

If the Nicéron letters suggest one direct method used by Des Maizeaux to stimulate the publicizing of English writers in France, another and more subtle one is revealed by those of Camusat, the journalist, who first wrote to Des Maizeaux in 1719 to ask for help in preparing a history of Journals, which Des Maizeaux had suggested 18 years earlier in Nouvelles de la République des Lettres ⁶⁶⁾. This is presumably the history which appeared in 1734, and from Camusat's letters it is clear that Des Maizeaux did supply

65) MS. 4287/184. Nicéron to Des. Oct. 7. 1732.

66) Camusat's letters are MS. 4282/1-44. Two more have strayed to the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Söll. Breve. U4 O. 164-5.

information and advice. In return Camusat provided material for memoirs of Fénelon. In 1722 he became librarian to that distinguished figure the Maréchal D'Estrées, and for a time exchanged literary information with Des Maizeaux. One notes with interest that the latter took advantage of this contact to present the works of Toland to D'Estrées. Camusat wrote :

"Les éclaircissements que vous avez pris la peine de me donner sur Mr. Tolland ont fait un plaisir sensible à M. le Maréchal D'Estrées, qui aime beaucoup à connoître les gens de Lettres, et sur tout ceux qui ont pensé aussi singulièrement que le Déiste Anglois." 67)

It would seem that, not content with collaborating with the deists and publicizing their books in the journals, Des Maizeaux was also engaged in distributing them among his correspondents, though not always with the desired effect. In 1728 La Croze wrote to him from Berlin of having received

"- deux livres Anglois qui me sont précieux par leur singularité. Ils sont tous deux du même Auteur ou je ne m'y connois point. Je crois même connoître ce hardi Free Thinker qui n'a pas moins en vue que de renverser les fondemens du Christianisme. Il n'y réussira pas. Toutes les puissances de l'Enfer y ont déjà échoué." 68)

The books referred to are almost certainly Collins'

Grounds and Reasons and the Devine of Literal Prophecy.

67) MS. 4282/29-30. Camusat to M. June 12. 1722.

68) MS. 4283/170. La Croze to M. March 7. 1728.

and Des Maizeaux's interest in distributing them is now obvious.

It is difficult to take note of his miscellaneous correspondence relating to actual publications without falling into a mere catalogue. His dealings with Du Sauzet, for example, included transactions ranging from proposals for a translation of a Spanish novel Englished by Ozell as The Spanish Polecat, to the promotion of a French version of Prideaux's solid work The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jews ⁶⁹⁾. Elsewhere there are hints of his activity in connection with Le Vassor's Histoire de Louis XIII, and a history of Louis XIV. by De Limiers ⁷⁰⁾, while on his own account he undertook to revise and expand Miège's Etat de la Grande Bretagne ⁷¹⁾. In 1729 Brossette's edition of Régnier was seen through the press by Des Maizeaux after the sudden death of the publisher Woodman ⁷²⁾, and in the same year it is interesting to note an approach made to him by the Abbé de St. Pierre,

69) MS. 4288. Letters of Du Sauzet.

70) MS. 4284/247-8. De Limiers to DM. July 6. 1716.

71) MS. 4288/245-252. Letters of R. and G. Wetstein to DM. 1717-1720; MS. 4289/163. Draft letter from DM. to Wetstein. Dec. 30. 1720.

72) MS. 4284/51-53. MS. 4289/332. Letters of Guérin, a Paris bookseller. MS. 4281/326.

in the hope of getting some of his works published in London. Using Des Maizeaux's St. Evremont as a pretext for writing, St. Pierre goes on to say : -

"Je ne vous aurois rien dit de ceci si je n'avois pas imaginé en relisant l'autre jour quelque chose de ses ouvrages, que vous pourriez ainsi faire imprimer à Londres quelques-uns de mes Ouvrages et en faire ainsi part à la nation angloise à laquelle nous devons beaucoup de bons ouvrages. Madame la Comtesse de Sandwich a bien voulu s'en charger. Si vous éprouvez mon dessein, je vous enverrai encore d'autres. Je ne demande au Libraire qu'un exemplaire." 73)

Des Maizeaux seems to have done his best for the impractical Abbé, and even to have tried the Dutch publishers, but without success 74).

When exchanges of this sort are joined to friendly correspondence with Barbeyrac, and the German theologians Mosheim and Crell, or discussion of Locke with the Jesuit Buffier, some idea begins to emerge of Des Maizeaux's position and potential influence importance in international literary relations, especially as it is by no means certain what proportion of his correspondence is actually preserved. This idea gains in depth as one turns to what can be traced of personal contacts with visitors to England.

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73) MS. 4287/233. St. Pierre to DM. Nov. 22. 1729.

74) MS. 4287/105. De la Motte to DM. Sept. 26. 1730.

Chapter VIII.

THE PERSONAL INTERMEDIARY.

For the first ten years of his life in England, Des Maizeaux was feeling his own way into new surroundings, but by the second decade of the century, with his naturalization and gradual penetration into political life, he may be said to have established himself fully in London. This was the period when the "grand tour" idea was beginning to arouse some degree of reciprocity on the continent, especially among scholars and writers, and a visit to England was already becoming a fashion, under the additional stimulus, no doubt, of political factors such as the restoration of peace and the Hanoverian succession. From this time on, Des Maizeaux's correspondence suggests that he and his friends were gradually constituting a kind of unofficial reception-committee for men of letters coming from France and other continental countries. The full scope of this activity cannot be judged, but there is a continuous record of such visits, mostly by men now forgotten, but well-known in their day. Moreover, the fruits of their visits indicate consistently that they were introduced by Des Maizeaux to precisely those elements in English thought and life which interested him personally.

In 1713, for example, one notes a visit by A.-Fr Bourreau-Deslandes,

who left a brief relation of his stay in a Nouveau Voyage d'Angleterre. A known philosophe and freethinker, he arranged through des Maizeaux the publication in London of a mocking work Réflexions sur les Grands Hommes qui sont morts en plaisantant, - characterized by De la Motte as "un méchant petit livre." ¹⁾ In 1715, there is the most interesting case of Van Effen, with implications which have already been discussed in connection with the Journal Littéraire ²⁾. The same year saw the arrival of another leading agent of the English influence on the continent, whose contact with Des Maizeaux has also been observed. This was Conti, whose activity in Italy as a pioneer of philosophisme and the publicizing of English literature is comparable to that of Voltaire in France. After a first visit, Conti made a tour of Holland and Germany, returned to England, where he visited Oxford and Cambridge, and finally went back to Paris in 1718. During his first stay, he is to be found discussing with Des Maizeaux the views of Anthony Collins on Liberty and Necessity ³⁾. But above all, the instance of Conti brings to light the modest personal activity of Des Maizeaux as a Newtonian propagandist, for Newton seems to have been their

1) MS. 4283/138-144. Deslandes to DM. Aug.-Oct. 1713;
MS. 4286/192. De la Motte to DM. Oct. 24. 1713.

2) see Chapter VI.

3) MS. 4282/123. Collins to DM. Feb. 9. 1716.

chief interest in common. During his first visit, Conti became a friend and disciple of Newton, possibly through De Moivre or other members of the Des Maizeaux group, and subsequently acted as a mediator between Newton and Leibniz. By his excessive impartiality, he himself aroused Newton's hostility for a time, until they in turn were reconciled, partly through de Moivre, and perhaps through Des Maizeaux himself ⁴⁾. He has already been quoted as a witness of Newton's approval of Des Maizeaux's reprints in the Recueil, and in fact, several letters passed between the latter and Conti on the subject of Newton, a point of some interest, since Conti was also the real pioneer Newtonian in Paris. The most interesting is one from Des Maizeaux, of which a draft exists. Referring to the forthcoming publication of Halley's Astronomical Tables, with a demonstration of Newton's Principia, applying the theory of gravity to the movements of comets as well as planets, Des Maizeaux shows himself a firm Newtonian.

"Vous savez, Monsieur, que ce ne sont pas ici des Hypothèses ou des Romans philosophiques; mais des Principes qui répondent parfaitement aux phénomènes, et après cela, je vous avoue, j'ai peine à comprendre que des Mathématiciens et des Astronomes, d'ailleurs très habiles, au lieu d'examiner si l'expérience s'accorde avec ces Principes, aiment mieux se jeter dans des Spéculations métaphysiques, ou s'acheurter à la recherche de la Cause ou de la Nature de cette

4) MS. 4284/224-5. Conti to DM. Sept. 1. 1721.

attraction, qui sera peut-être toujours inconnue; lorsqu'il ne s'agit que de l'Effet, qui est visible et palpable. Descartes lui-même abandonneroit aujourd'hui ses ingénieuses Hypothèses, pour s'attacher à des Principes démontrées par l'expérience. Il voudroit du moins connoître à fonds un systeme si simple, si général et qui a de si grandes apparences de vérité. Mais ce n'est pas une petite affaire que de surmonter la force des préjugés et de l'habitude." 5

These very sound remarks are consistent with Des Maizeaux's distrust of metaphysics and "romans philosophiques"; in general and recall his early acceptance of Locke and the empirical approach.

Among those to whom he distributed copies of his Recueil was the historiographer Valincour; it is curious to find the latter, who seems to belong so much more to the age of Boileau or La Rochefoucauld, soliciting from Des Maizeaux an explanation in French of gravitation and attraction - "une action de physique que nous ne connoissons pas trop bien icy, quoy que Mr. Newton en fasse un de ses principes" 6). The desired account was apparently sent but lost. This throws interesting light on Des Maizeaux as an agent of Newtonian publicity at a time when, as another of his correspondents puts it, - "On est à Paris rien moins que Newtonien, et excepté Mr. de Maupertuis et Debuffon et Clairaut, la matière

5) MS. 4284/222-3. Draft letter from DM. to Conti. Sept. 11 1720-1721.

6) MS. 4288/198-9. Valincour to DM. No date.

xxxxxx Feb 26. 1721.

subtile, les petits tourbillons etc, sont tpujours sur le trône" 7). This observation was made by Etienne Jallabert, another refugee,^{and} professor of mathematics and philosophy at Geneva, after a visit to London which brought him into contact with the Des Maizeaux circle, through whom another Newtonian thus set out for his home by way of Paris. There is no doubt that Des Maizeaux and his friends helped materially in the publicizing of Newton, and it may be noted that while Des Maizeaux was himself publishing the Newton-Leibniz controversy in French, Coste was busy with a translation of the Optics.

Naturally, not all of these miscellaneous visitors and acquaintances were of the stature of Conti, or even of Van Effen. In 1718, for example, it was the turn of a young Swiss named Bosset, son of the minister of Avenches, where Des Maizeaux's mother, now very old, was still living. Bosset was introduced to Collins by Des Maizeaux, and it is significant that he too thereupon made his contribution to the spread of the English influence by translating into French the abbreviated version of Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding by Bishop Synne 8). Bosset was preceded by

7) MS. 4284/167-170. Jallabert to DM. No date.

8) MS. 4282/147-8. Collins to DM. May 25. 1718. MS. 4289/78-79. Marie Des Maizeaux to DM. Oct. 5. 1721. MS. 4281/289-291. Letters from the Bosset family. Bosset appears to have spent 2 or 3 years in England.

Scheurer, professor of philosophy at Bern ⁹⁾, and 1718 also saw the visit of the journalist Sallengre, formerly of the Journal Littéraire, and now producing for Du Sauzet the first volumes of a learned miscellany, the Mémoires de Littérature, for which Des Maizeaux procured articles in England. Collins had previously encountered Sallengre in Holland, and Des Maizeaux planned to take the journalist down to Baddow, proposing Toland also as one of the party. Unfortunately, Sallengre had to leave England without meeting Collins ¹⁰⁾. He was, however, like Van Effen, elected a foreign member of the Royal Society, partly through Des Maizeaux, who introduced him to Sloane and obtained support for his candidature ¹¹⁾. Election to the Royal Society was becoming the fashionable ambition of foreign visitors with any pretensions to learning, and in writing to Thank Des Maizeaux for his pains, Sallengre remarks frankly :

9) MS. 4288/92. Scheurer to DM. April 5. 1718. Scheurer was also friendly with Toland. MS. 4288/88-9.

10) MS. 4282/224-5. Collins to DM. Oct. 10. 1718.
MS. 4287/283. Sallengre to DM. Nov. 26. 1718.

11) MS. 4287/289-290. Sallengre to DM. Jan. 13 and Sept. 22 1719; Brit. Mus. Sloane MS. 4045/244-245. Sallengre to DM. Sept. 20. 1719.
Sloane

"Quoy que je ne soye pas assez sot pour me croire plus habile pour en être Membre, je vous avoueray que c'est un petit relief dans ce pays (Holland) et vous savez que dans ce monde un peu de Charlatanisme ne nuit point." 12)

The Rainbow group did not confine its welcome to Frenchmen, whether direct from France or from exile in other countries.

The Hanoverian succession had naturally strengthened the links between Englishmen and Germans, and the latter were also represented among Des Maizeaux's correspondents. Leibniz is, of course, the greatest name among them, and in addition to the contacts between them already noted, Des Maizeaux seems to have arranged the English translation of the Théodicée and its dedication to the Princess of Wales. Among prominent Germans whom Des Maizeaux knew personally was the ambassador Spanheim, who died in 1710, distinguished as a scholar and numismatist ¹³⁾. A few letters tell of the visit in 1722 of Daniel Maickel, a Tübingen professor, who produced as the fruit of his stay a treatise on theological moderation, and is to be found applying to Des Maizeaux for Hoadly's writings on toleration ¹⁴⁾. The most interesting of Des Maizeaux's personal friendships with German visitors is, however, that

12) MS. 4287/291-2. Sallengre to DM. Feb. 2. 1720

13) A note exists from Spanheim to DM. Oct. 21. 1710.
MS. 4288/171.

14) MS. 4284/261-2. MS. 4285/60-61. Maickel to DM, 1721-2.

with the poet Friedrich von Hagedorn, at a rather later stage. Hagedorn, whose share in extending the English influence in German literature is equivalent to the part played in Italy and Holland by Conti and Van Effen, was in England from 1729 to 1731 as secretary to the Danish ambassador Soehlenthal. He made many friends, and his grasp of the language enabled him to publish two works in English, but the details of his stay have remained something of a mystery. Several letters to Des Maizeaux written after Von Hagedorn's return to Hamburg, provide part of the solution ¹⁵⁾; he was clearly on intimate terms with the cosmopolitan journalist-group in London. It is particularly interesting to note that Von Hagedorn too, in his dealings with Des Maizeaux, seems to have been brought under the spell of the English deists. Planning an account of his experiences in England, he wrote to Des Maizeaux for information about the "illustres incrédules", particularly Collins, Woolston and Toland.

"Vous me permettez de vous prier très-humblement de vouloir m'apprendre quelques particularités peu connues et curieuses de ce Triumvirat, à qui vous aurez la bonté de joindre Mr. Mandeville, dont véritablement je ne sçais que très-peu, et que je souhaiterois de faire connoître à mes Compatriotes...
... Je vous promets de ne découvrir à personne d'où j'ai ces anecdotes que j'ose vous demander, et qu'aucun savant ne sauroit mieux fournir que vous ." 16)

Whether the desired material was ever sent is not clear, although Des Maizeaux could usually be relied upon to respond

15) MS. 4284/61-69. 16) MS. 4284/61-63. Hagedorn to DM.
Oct. 5. 1731.

to such appeals; what is clear is that he was recognized by foreigners of all nationalities as their point of contact with English freethought.

Among the Frenchmen who encountered Des Maizeaux in London during the 1720's was Voltaire's one-time tutor D'Olivet who afterwards wrote to him in connection with Louis Racine's translation of Paradise Lost. This time, the following observation by D'Olivet is noteworthy : -

"Je vous répons de sa part qu'il sera très aise que vous ayez fait à son ouvrage telles corrections que vous jugerez convenir." 17)

There seems to be no limit to the scope of the services (or meddling, as some would think) undertaken by Des Maizeaux; in this case, however, copies of Racine's translation sent to him for correction through the usual channel of Freverau, went astray, so Paradise Lost in French owes nothing to him¹⁸⁾.

At about the same time, the French colony in England received a new recruit for several years, in the person of St. Hyacinthe, following the example of his former colleagues of the Journal Littéraire, Sallengre and Van Effen, who, it may be noted in passing, was again in contact with Des Maizeaux in London during 1727¹⁹⁾. The relations of Des

Maizeaux

17) MS. 4287/202. D'Olivet to DM. June 4. 1725.

18) MS. 4287/204-5. D'Olivet to DM. April 29. 1727.

19) MS. 4283/202. Van Effen to DM. No date.

and St. Hyacinthe are of considerable interest, partly because they lasted longer than some and are a little better documented. Moreover, they involve the more eminent figure of Maupertuis, and are the prelude to discussion of the greatest of all the visitors to the Rainbow - Voltaire himself. St. Hyacinthe, whose career was not the least picturesque of his day, descended on London in about 1726, with a blaze of publicity, having eloped with a Dutch heiress²⁰⁾ In London he turned Protestant and married her; he is also said to have obtained a pension, and, following the fashion, got himself elected to the Royal Society. One of the first-fruits of his stay in England was the translation of Robinson Crusoe, undertaken jointly with Van Effen, but a more interesting indication of his preoccupations is a Lettre à un Ami touchant le progrès du déisme en Angleterre, published at Amsterdam in 1732.

In 1727 St. Hyacinthe was at Worcester, and in March of that year wrote the earliest of his existing letters to Des Maizeaux, asking him, significantly enough, for two copies of The Scheme of Literal Prophecy - "L'un pour moy, l'autre pour un de mes amis qui est a clever fellow." He admits that

20) St. Hyacinthe liked to claim that it was he who had been abducted, and not vice-versa. As Larais said of the affair: "Il y a bien des sortes de rapt" - Journal et Mémoires de Matthieu Larais. Vol. IV. p. 370.

bien
"c'est en user/librement, mais avouez- moi que c'est
vous faire plaisir et que bon que vous êtes on ne peut
vous fâcher qu'en vous demandant des choses que vous
ne pouvez pas faire." 21)

Whatever his faults, Des Maizeaux was certainly good-natured, even if officious, and naturally he obtained the Scheme for St. Hyacinthe. The book was not, it seems, easily obtainable, for in thanking him, St. Hyacinthe wrote:

"je n'aurois point pri la liberté de vous prier de
me procurer ce livre, si je n'eusse cru que vos
relations avec l'auteur ne vous mettoient au fait
des moyens qu'il y avoit de le trouver." 22)

In May 1727, St. Hyacinthe was proposing to settle on the outskirts of London, and wrote of his hopes of seeing Des Maizeaux "venir filosofer dans ma cabane." 23) The two men undoubtedly became very friendly, with the unfortunate result that there is no more correspondence for the actual period of St. Hyacinthe's stay in the capital. There is reason to suspect also that the ageing Des Maizeaux was more interested than he should have been in St. Hyacinthe's wife, who was left behind for a time when her husband returned to Paris at the end of 1731. However, it amounted perhaps to no more than a little light gallantry, and was apparently regarded as a joke 24). Of St. Hyacinthe's activities in London there is

21) MS. 4284/163-4. St. Hyacinthe to DM. March (1727)

22) MS. 4284/138-9. St. Hyacinthe to DM. April 12. 1727.

23) MS. 4284/140-1. St. Hyacinthe to DM. May 28. 1727.

24) MS. 4284/159-160. St. Hyacinthe to DM. July 26. 1737.

St. Hyacinthe talks of "ma femme que vous aimiez autrefois de votre propre aveu." See also MS. 4284/145, a letter from St. Hyacinthe's wife.

no information of value, although letters from De la Motte suggest that he set up as a bookseller temporarily and unsuccessfully, perhaps through ill-health ²⁵⁾. He was certainly friendly with De Moivre and Fonvive, and other members of the Rainbow group ²⁶⁾, and it is almost as certain that Maupertuis also took part in their gatherings during his visit in 1728, when he too entered the Royal Society, as a zealous Newtonian. What personal contact took place between Des Maizeaux and Maupertuis is not certain, but as a result of associations with him and St. Hyacinthe, Maupertuis sent to Des Maizeaux, in July 1731, a dissertation to be published in the Philosophical Transactions with the following observations.

"L'honneur que m'a fait la Société Royale de vouloir bien me recevoir parmi les grands hommes qui la composent me met en droit de luy envoyer cette dissertation. L'Envie que j'ay de luy marquer ma reconnoissance et mon zele fait peut-être me trop haster ; mais aussy, j'eusse attendu trop longtemps si j'eusse différé jusqu'à avoir trouvé quelque chose que je crusse digne d'Elle. Permettez moy donc Monsieur, de vous envoyer ce petit Écrit, foible retour pour les Excellentes choses que vous nous envoyez quelquefois ; et de vous prier de l'insérer dans vos transactions si vous le jugez digne de cet honneur." 27)

It would seem that Des Maizeaux was regarded as the leading

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25) MS. 4287/33. De la Motte to DM. Oct. 8. 1728.

26) MS. 4284/144. St. Hyacinthe to DM. Nov. 26. 1731.

27) MS. 4285/211. Maupertuis to DM. July 9. 1731.

representative of the foreign members of the Society; on this occasion, he submitted Maupertuis' paper to the secretary Machin, and it was printed by Dr. Mortimer ²⁸⁾.

Back in Paris, St. Hyacinthe acted as intermediary between Des Maizeaux and Marais, and a sporadic correspondence continued between the two men. St. Hyacinthe's last letter reveals that his interest in the deists had not died, for in it he asks Des Maizeaux for Tindal's Christianity Old as the Creation, Mandeville's Fable of the Bees, and works of Toland, Woolston and Berkeley ²⁹⁾. It is also interesting to note that St. Hyacinthe represented a personal link between Des Maizeaux's circle in London, with all that that implies concerning English freethought, and the salon of Mme. de Lambert, by whom he was encouraged.

Whatever intrinsic interest is to be found in the relations of Des Maizeaux and St. Hyacinthe dwindles in importance by comparison with their possible bearing on the much more debatable question of the relations between Voltaire and Des Maizeaux and the London Refugees. This problem will in all probability never be settled satisfactorily, although the answer to it undoubtedly lies partly in the quarrel which

18) MS. 4285/212. Maupertuis to Dm. April 29. 1732.
2 MS. 4285/215, 217. Machin to Dm. March 29, April 29, 1732.
MS. 4284/161-2. St. Hyacinthe to Dm. Oct. 23. 1737.
19)

developed between Voltaire and St. Hyacinthe. The Des Maizeaux papers also suggest an approach to the question, for Voltaire, like St. Hyacinthe, was certainly much in contact with the Rainbow group during one part of his stay in England.

It is impossible to say precisely when Voltaire first encountered them, but the earliest evidence belongs to 1727, nearly a year after Voltaire's arrival in England. From this time, it is possible to trace a chain of circumstances which seem to form a background to the mysterious clash between Voltaire and St. Hyacinthe. During the spring of 1727, before May 27, Voltaire had taken lodgings at Wandsworth; thereafter there is some uncertainty as to his movements, until mid-December, when he wrote to wife from the White Lerruke in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, just round the corner, as it were, from the Rainbow ³⁰⁾. On May 28, St. Hyacinthe wrote to Des Maizeaux from Worcester, saying that he was going to clear up his affairs, and intended to come and settle in London ³¹⁾. At this point, another future enemy of Voltaire enters the scene - Guyot de Merville, the journalist and playwright, who was at this time a bookseller and publisher at The Hague, and with whom Des Maizeaux had dealings to be discussed elsewhere.

30) Correspondence de Voltaire 1726-1729. ed. Foulet.

31) Ms. 4284/140-41.

On July 8, Merville wrote to Des Maizeaux from Holland, to announce his intention of leaving for London in a few days ³²⁾. On September 20, Jacob le Duchat replied from Berlin to a letter written by Des Maizeaux during the summer months, and said : -

"Puisque vous voyez M. de Voltaire, présentez-lui,
je vous prie, dans l'occasion, mes très humbles
respects, et sachez de lui s'il conte toujours de
donner avec le temps une nouvelle édition de son
Poème de la Ligue." ³³⁾

From these references, it appears that Voltaire and two of his future enemies converged upon London and the Rainbow at about the same time, in the middle of the summer; and these meetings ultimately sowed the seed of conflict. For the remainder of the year, however, it is probable that good relations prevailed, and that Voltaire was often at the Rainbow. It is said that he helped St. Hyacinthe financially, and if that is true, it must have been at about this time. Towards the end of the year, on December 22, Merville wrote to Des Maizeaux from Paris, where he had gone some time before, perhaps in November. From the address of this and subsequent letters ³⁴⁾, it appears that Des Maizeaux had also left London to spend ~~threemxx~~ two or three months

32) MS. 4385/231.

33) MS. 4283/164-9.

34) MS. 4283/232-3 etc.

with Collins at Baddow Hall, Voltaire being still in Maiden Lane.

It was probably during this absence of Des Maizeaux that St. Hyacinthe quarrelled with Voltaire, for reasons never properly explained. Levesque de Burigny gives the following vague account of the affair.

"M. de Saint-Hyacinthe m'a dit et répété plusieurs fois que M. de Voltaire se conduisit très-irrégulièrement en Angleterre; qu'il s'y fit beaucoup d'ennemis, par des procédés qui ne s'accordoient pas avec les principes d'une morale exacte Quoi qu'il en soit, il fit dire à M. de Voltaire que s'il ne changeoit de conduite, il ne pourroit s'empêcher de témoigner publiquement qu'il les désapprouvoit, ce qu'il croyoit devoir faire pour l'honneur de la nation Française." 35)

Whatever the nature of St. Hyacinthe's grievance, Voltaire replied contemptuously, and St. Hyacinthe condemned him publicly, so it is likely that Des Maizeaux returned from Baddow Hall to find a state of open war between the two former friends, in which the first attack on paper was launched by St. Hyacinthe. This took the form of a Lettre Critique sur la Henriade, dated from London in April 1728. It is this mention of the Henriade which draws into the picture another aspect of Voltaire's activities in London

35) Levesque de Burigny : Lettre à M. l'Abbé de St. Leger, sur les démêlés de M. de Voltaire avec M. de Saint-Hyacinthe. pp. 4-5.

and relations with the French colony there. This is his dispute with the bookseller Nicolas Prévost concerning the publication of the Henriade, expressed in a series of announcements in the Daily Post, which has been disinterred and published by M. Foulet³⁶⁾. Voltaire had given permission to the bookseller Codere to reprint the Henriade, and Codere transferred the right to Prévost on January 22, 1728. The first clash with Voltaire was over six lines of the Codere-Prévost edition, which Voltaire disavowed, upholding instead the edition published by Woodman. This dispute was reduced to a calmer level, but the quarrel broke out again over the actual sales of the Henriade. From a letter written by Voltaire to Des Maizeaux dated April-May 1728 by M. Foulet, it appears that Prévost, having already appealed to Des Maizeaux during the first clash, now did so again.

"Sir. I hear Prévost hath a mind to bring you a second time as an evidence against me. He says, I have told you I had given him five and twenty books for thirty guineas. I remember very well Sir, j told you at rainbow's Coffee house that I had given him twenty subscription receipts for the Henriade and received thirty guineas down; but I never meant to have parted with thirty copies at three guineas each, for thirty one pounds. j have agreed with him upon quite another foot, and j am not such a fool (tho a writer) to give away all my property to a Bookseller. therefore, j desire you to remember that j never told you of my havin.

36) The subject is dealt with exhaustively in Correspondence de Voltaire, 1726-1729.

made so silly a bargain. j told, j own, j had thirty pounds, or some equivalent downe, but j did not say, t'was all the bargain. This j insist upon and beseech (sic) you to recollect our conversation, for j am sure j never told a tale so contrary to truth, to reason and to my interest. j hope you will not back the injustice of a bookseller who abuses you against a man of honour who is yr most humble servant

voltaire.

I beseech you to send me an answer to my lodging without any delay. I shall be extremely obliged to you."

37)

Des Maizeaux, apparently regarded as a higher court of appeal, probably now acted as mediator between Voltaire and the bookseller, for as far as Prévost was concerned, the trouble over the Héniade ended shortly afterwards with a joint announcement by himself and Voltaire, by which the latter recognized a revised edition by Prévost in which the offending lines were corrected. There is, however, another fact which raises doubts as to whether this curious affair was a simple dispute with a bookseller - namely, that the Coderre-Prévost edition was accompanied by St. Haysinthe's criticism of the poem, with separate pagination. This letter was a petty affair, clearly written to spite Voltaire, and was meant to be followed by others. In discussing the Voltaire-Prévost dispute, M. Foulet, noting the suggestion that it might have been engineered

37) The original of this is MS. 4288/229.

by Voltaire himself as a publicity device ³⁸⁾, is more inclined to see in it the rivalry of two booksellers. It seems possible, also, that Voltaire's anger may have been aroused partly by the critical letter published by Prévost, and that the affair forms part of the war with St. Hyacinthe. It is interesting to note that St. Hyacinthe's criticism was reissued separately a few weeks later by Codere, and by Merville at The Hague, who also seems to have been drawn in. When it is remembered that Merville was related to Desfontaine and later sealed his fate by collaborating in the latter's attack on Voltaire, appearances suggest the emergence of a kind of cabal against Voltaire, perhaps going back to 1727, when these men were brought together in London.

The position of Des Maizeaux in these conflicts is far from clear; the few references to him in Voltaire's works are contemptuous, and he certainly remained friendly with St. Hyacinthe. In April 1728, De la Motte acknowledged a gift of the *Henriade* from Des Maizeaux, with another copy for Le Duchat, apparently the Codere-Prévost version ³⁹⁾, and further remarks to Des Maizeaux in June 1728 refer to dark hints about Voltaire's conduct.

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38) Ballantyne : Voltaire's Visit to England. pp.158-161.

39) MS. 4287/19. De la Motte to DM. April 27. 1728.

"Vous ne m'avez point dit si l'Auteur des Remarques est connu. Je n'ai lu encore que ces Remarques car je suis accablé d'affaires, et j'avois déjà lu le Poème tel qu'il avoit paru d'abord ici, c'est-à-dire bien imparfait. J'ai oui dire que l'Auteur a fait bien des sotises à Londres. Je n'ai pas de peine à le croire. Je ne le connois pas mais je sais qu'il est fort étourdi. Il fut ici voir M. Le Clerc en y accompagnant Madame la Marquise de Rupelmonde, et se moqua fort de la Religion Chrétienne en faisant les plus pitoyables objections qu'en puisse imaginer."

40)

Moreover, it was Des Maizeaux who sent St. Hyacinthe's criticism to De la Motte in October 1728, to be reprinted with an Amsterdam edition of the Henriade⁴¹, so it is evident that he was loyal to St. Hyacinthe to the extent of acting for him in such matters. On the other hand, the relatively polite tone of Voltaire's letter to him, as to an impartial judge in the Prévost affair, suggests that relations between them were still good towards the summer of 1728, when Voltaire returned to Wandsworth. There is indeed a further reference in a letter from De la Motte of November 30, which might indicate even later contact between Voltaire and Des Maizeaux.

40) MS. 4287/23. De la Motte to D^r. June 8. 1728.

41) MS. 4287/30. De la Motte to D^r. Oct. 26. 1728.

"J'ai lu l'Essai sur les Guerres Civiles de France que Lerville a imprimé et qui est apparemment l'écrit dont vous me parlez, que M. de Voltaire veut mettre à la tête de la H. Ed., qu'il veut donner de son Henriade. Il seroit à souhaiter qu'il profitât des Remarques de la Lettre Critique que vous m'avez envoyée. Bernard m'a prié de la lui donner pour l'insérer dans sa Bibliothèque Française." 42)

The general appearance of the evidence suggests that whatever disputes Voltaire may have been involved in during 1728, Des Maizeaux played no active part in them, but, as a recognized arbiter in the affairs of the French group, more probably performed the function of mediator. He was certainly on good terms with Voltaire for a considerable time, and even when the situation was complicated by the claims of a prior friendship with St. Hyacinthe, appears at least to have maintained diplomatic relations with Voltaire. This is confirmed to some extent by the fact that in 1733 he was certainly involved in the negotiations by Thieriot for the publication in England of the Lettres Philosophiques, the English translation of which was prepared by Des Maizeaux's friend and collaborator John Lockman. This is proved by a letter from the bookseller Feale, who had published various works for Des Maizeaux.

42) MS. 4287/43-4. De la Motte to D^r. Nov. 30. 1728.

"Sr. Some Business has happen'd which makes it inconvenient for me to be at Slaughter's Coffee House this Evening as I intended; I therefore desire you would communicate the Contents of this Letter to Mr. Tilliot (Thieriot).

I am informed that neither the Foreign Booksellers abroad, nor the French Booksellers here, will give anything for the liberty of printing Mr. Voltaire's Letters; but will immediately upon the publication of them here, reprint them cheaper than can be done in London; and therefore the whole profit must arise from the Sale of the English Translation, which I need not tell you can't amount to near what Mr. Tilliot expects for them.

The best advice that I can therefore give him will be to print them by Subscription, unless he abates greatly of his Demand; for I am absolutely certain that it is impossible for any Bookseller to give near his price for them." 43)

Thieriot, like his precursors, had also found in Des Maizeaux a friendly guide into the London Book-trade, and through him Des Maizeaux's link with Voltaire is prolonged. In fact, even the publication of the Lettres Philosophiques is not the end of the story. Among the criticisms and replies called forth by the Lettres Philosophiques was one on behalf of the Quakers by Josiah Martin, distinguished by his learning and piety, entitled A letter from one of the People called Quakers, to F. de Voltaire, occasioned by his remarks on that people in his letters concerning the English Nation." It is a moderate treatise, well-

43) MS. B. 4287/218. Date to MS. To date; assigned by Lanson to early 1733.

received in its day, ending with a solemn homily to Voltaire. Originally written in September 1733 and sent to Voltaire in the expectation of moving him to amend certain statements on the Quakers, it was not published until 1741, after later editions of the Lettres Philosophiques had appeared without the corrections, so piously hoped for. One of the booksellers who sold it was Paul Vaillant, and it was he who also put out a French translation in 1745. Hitherto this version has remained anonymous, but examination of Birch's manuscripts during the preparation of the present study has revealed the existence of no less than three manuscripts of the translation. Two of them are drafts in a handwriting which, although crabbled with age and rheumatism, is undoubtedly that of Des Maizeaux, and the third, apparently written out by an amanuensis, bears recognizable traces of revision by him ⁴⁴⁾. In the light of this evidence, it is hardly possible to doubt that the translation was the work of

- 44) These three MSS. are identifiable as follows : -
1) Add. MS. 4372/44-55; in complete draft by DM;
2) Add. MS. 4367/68-82; draft by DM., with many corrections - probably the first version;
3) Add. MS. 4367/55-67, fair copy of most of the same, with emendations by DM.

Des Maizeaux, and in view of the disputes in which Voltaire was involved, the question is at once re-opened, as to whether Des Maizeaux undertook the task out of any personal resentment against Voltaire. A review of the circumstances however, leads to the conclusion that this is most improbable. It must have been almost the last literary work carried out by the exile, not many months before his death, when sickness and poverty had reduced him to accepting with gratitude any kind of hack-work. Undoubtedly that is the category to which these pathetic relics must be consigned.

This examination of miscellaneous documentary evidence slight though it is, not only establishes direct contact between Voltaire and Des Maizeaux over a considerable period, but also shows the connection of the latter with affairs relating to the publication of both the Henriade and the Lettres Philosophiques. But there is another side to the Voltaire theme as it concerns Des Maizeaux; after tracing a definite association between them, it is now virtually incumbent upon the enquirer to consider whether Des Maizeaux, with thirty years' experience of publicizing English thought and letters, and a singular record of contact with liberal thinkers, played any part in the "English influence" upon Voltaire in general, and the background of the Lettres Philosophiques in particular. This

question presents so many traps for the unwary that it is only to be approached with the greatest trepidation, especially in view of the great gulf between the genius and the pedantic, pedestrian journalist. It is not, of course, the purpose of this study to re-open the well-worn question of the sources of the Lettres Philosophiques, for which, in any case, the labours of Lanson have left so little scope. Nevertheless, the study of Des Maizeaux *et* does give rise to a few observations which may be of some value.

Concerning the positive contribution of the refugees as a whole to the Lettres Philosophiques, enquiry has reached a stage of stalemate which promises to be permanent, and is summed up by Lanson :

"On ne peut guère rejeter et l'on n'a pas actuellement les moyens de préciser la conjecture de Texte que Voltaire 'dut beaucoup' à la fréquentation des réfugiés français qui se réunissaient au Rainbow Coffee House dans Marylebone. Le baconien Daudé et le newtonien Moivre, Desmaizeaux, ami de Collins et des déistes, La Chapelle, Coste, César de Missy etc. purent lui révéler beaucoup de l'Angleterre tout au moins lui indiquer des voies." 45)

It is a reasonable assumption that Voltaire did profit considerably from these associations, and as to the individ

45) Lettres Philosophiques, ed. Lanson. Vol. I. introduction p.II. There is a misunderstanding here about the location of the Rainbow.

case of Des Maizeaux, it is an indisputable fact that there is scarcely any leading topic of the Lettres upon which Des Maizeaux was not well qualified to guide Voltaire. Indeed, against the background of his friendships and his news-service, the subject-matter of Voltaire's letters acquires the air of an old and oft-told tale. Before making a single wild surmise, however, it is well to remember that the same leading topics are all well covered by Voltaire's relations with Bolingbroke, Falkener, Swift, Clarke and the rest. Against this, it might be urged that Voltaire was undoubtedly prone to exaggerating his familiarity with leading Englishmen and was certainly not the type to advertise his debt to obscure figures such as Des Maizeaux and his friends.

It is not difficult to trace the scope of this possible indebtedness; for example, Voltaire's first seven letters on the Quakers and other sects recall that Des Maizeaux, in his news-reports, shows a constant preoccupation with the activities of the various religious groups, and by virtue of his accounts of Hales and Chillingworth, might claim to be regarded as something of an authority on the English ecclesiastical background, especially by comparison with most of the refugees. As for Locke, Des Maizeaux was, through Collins, almost as close to that tradition as was Coste, and had actually published some of his pieces. The

same thing applies in the case of Newton with, as has been seen, the personal link in addition, and proof that Des Maizeaux's opinion between Newton and Descartes had crystallized and taken shape a decade before Voltaire's final conversion. These factors, however, can do no more than indicate a possible sphere of influence and strengthen the general probability that Voltaire derived a certain amount of guidance from the assemblies at the Rainbow, in which Des Maizeaux undoubtedly took a leading part.

Any attempt to seek more specific links with Des Maizeaux in the text of the Lettres Philosophiques must take account of the time factor, and the possibility of any such link is, in fact, reduced to a minimum by Lanson's deduction from the text, which undermine the former tradition assigning much of the material to 1727⁴⁶⁾. In Lanson's opinion, most of the work on the material was done from 1729 to 1731, but he concedes, on the other hand, that Voltaire was planning the letters and taking notes from about the end of 1727 - that is, from the period of his association with the Rainbow group. This again confirms the probability that its members helped to indicate the direction of the first steps towards the Lettres Philosophiques. There are, as it happens, a few specific points in Voltaire's text which might owe

46) Lettres Philosophiques, *ibid.* pp.XXXV - XXXIX.

something to Des Maizeaux, or are at least echoes of topics occurring in the latter's nouvelles littéraires; curiously enough, they are to be found in the more "literary" letters and not, as one might expect, in those concerning Locke, Newton, or religious matters.

The first is the famous parallel between Swift⁴⁷⁾ and Rabelais in the 22nd letter. Lanson does not attempt to fix any textual source for this comparison, though M. Sonet, in his Voltaire et l'Influence Anglaise points to the first canto of the Dunciad as a possibility⁴⁸⁾. It may have been a commonplace by then, but there is an earlier example of this comparison in French - and it is by Des Maizeaux, in a news-letter to Bernard's République des Lettres, as early as 1705.

"Mr. Wotton vient de faire une 3e. Ed. de ses Reflexions sur la Science des Anciens et des Modernes.... On y trouve aussi des Observations sur le Tale of a Tub, qu'on croit présentement être de Mr. Swift, Ministre de l'Eglise Anglicane il dit de tems en tems que cet ouvrage est plein d'impiété et de profanation. Tout le monde n'est pas de son sentiment en cela. On doit pardonner quelques expressions libres dans des Ouvrages de cette nature. Lorsque Rabelais s'est moqué de l'Eglise Romaine, il s'est servi de ces sortes de tours. On les a blâmés dans les autres endroits de son livre mais on ne lui a point fait d'affaire sur cet Article. Il y a apparence que le Tale of a Tub a été fait sur le modèle de Rabelais, comme la bataille des livres

47) Lettres Philosophiques, Vol. II. pp.135-6. Sur
Mr. Pope et quelques autres poetes fameux.

48) Voltaire et l'Influence Anglaise. p. 29.

de la Bibliothèque de St. James qu'on y a ajoutée, est une imitation de la Guerre Poétique des Auteurs et du Parnasse Reformé de Guéret." 49)

Five months later, the comparison duly reappears in Trévoux, with a characteristic twist :

"L'Auteur du Tale of a Tub est connu; c'est Mr. Swift Ministre de l'Eglise Anglicane. Il n'est pas trop glorieux au Clergé de cette Eglise d'avoir donné à l'Angleterre un Rabelais aussi impie et aussi obscène que ce Médecin François; de pareils Ministres ressembleront mal aux Apôtres. Un Laïque Mr. Votton, n'a pu retenir son indignation, il l'a fait éclater dans la troisième Ed. de ses Reflexions sur la Science des Anciens et des Modernes." 50)

This, incidentally, is an excellent example of the relation between the English news in these two periodicals of opposite camps.

In his 23rd letter Sur la considération qu'on doit aux gens de lettres, Voltaire points to one of the chief differences between France and England by listing Addison, Newton, Congreve and Prior in connection with their official posts, and including indirectly Swift and Pope 51). Again, Lanson has found no comparable passage, but there is one, in the news-reports of the Journal Littéraire, which, on the evidence discussed, can be ascribed to Des Maizeaux with reasonable certainty.

49) N. R. L. Se t. 1705. pp. 342-3.

50) Trévoux, Feb. 1706, p. 336. There are several other items common to these two reports.

51) Lettres Philosophiques, ed. Lanson. Vol.II, p.158.

"M. Gay est allé à Hanover en qualité de secrétaire de Mylord Clarendon. C'est assez la mode chez nous, depuis quelque tems, d'employer des poètes et des beaux Esprits dans les Postes publiques. M. Prior, par exemple, est Plénipotentiaire en France. M. Addison a été Secrétaire d'Irlande, et M. Row sous-secrétaire d'Etat sous le Duc de Queensbery. M. Phillips a été secrétaire en Danemarck. Vous avez aussi vu M. Fenton Secrétaire de Mylord Orrery aux Pais-Bas, et M. Harrison Secrétaire d'Ambassade au Congrès d'Utrecht." 52)

It may be noted that in his Lottery and Court appointments, Des Maizeaux was himself an example before Voltaire's eyes.

The next letter of Voltaire is Sur les Académies, including an account of Swift's "dessein d'établir une Académie pour la langue à l'exemple de l'Académie Française" 53). This, as Lanson points out, is mentioned in La Chapelle's Bibliothèque Angloise in 1720, but the earliest account in French is a 7-page résumé by Des Maizeaux of Swift's Proposals for correcting, improving and ascertaining the English tongue, in Masson's Histoire Critique in 1713, echoed in Trévoux in February 1714 54). There is a curious point in this particular letter which seems to have intrigued Lanson, namely Voltaire's insistence upon the support given to Swift's proposals by Bolingbroke.

52) ~~xxxx~~ J-L. Vol. IV. Pt.1. p.213. 1714.

53) Lettres Philosophiques, ed. Lanson. Letter 24, Vol.II p. 172.

54) Hist. Crit. Vol. III. London news; Trévoux, Feb. 1714. p. 371.

Lanson notes that "il n'y a dans l'opuscule de Swift ni mention de Bolingbroke ni trace qu'il dût s'occuper de l'établissement projeté" and concludes that Voltaire picked up his information from Bolingbroke ⁵⁵⁾. This is very probable, but among the odd notes by Des Maizeaux in Birch's papers is an account, presumably intended for his nouvelles, of a "Société pour récompenser et encourager le Mérite par rapport aux Sciences et aux beaux Arts" ⁵⁶⁾. This belongs to the period of Swift's project, and seems to be related to it, as it includes the names of Swift and Prior among the members. Furthermore, it names also "Mr. de St. Jean, Secrétaire d'Etat", which corresponds to Voltaire's mention of Bolingbroke. This manuscript note, and the treatment of Swift's proposals in Des Maizeaux's news-report suggest at least a possibility that Voltaire got hold of some version of the affair in conversation at the Rainbow, although Swift and Bolingbroke themselves are the more obvious sources.

It is interesting to come across these parallels in themes treated by Des Maizeaux and Voltaire, although they are not intended here to be taken too seriously as textual

55) Lettres Philosophiques, ed. Lanson. Vol. II. p. 178,
note 6.

56) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4299 /125.

sources for the Lettres Philosophiques. They do show, however, a certain amount of common ground between Voltaire and the now elderly refugee, beyond the more obvious topics of Locke, Newton and the deists. They are points of actual textual similarity, but in addition to these, there are moments when the text of the Lettres hilosophiques seems to be imbued with a faint, almost impalpable aura of what might be termed the Des Maizeaux background. Is it, for example, mere chance that Voltaire should devote a letter to Rochester and Waller, by way of an oblique reference to St. Evremond ?⁵⁷⁾ And where, one wonders, did Voltaire pick up his malicious piece of gossip about Halifax and Newton's niece ?⁵⁸⁾ There is only one possible printed source; the subject is mentioned delicately in the memoirs of Halifax in which Des Maizeaux ~~xxx~~ might have had a hand. Lanson inclines to the opinion that Voltaire was quoting some scandalmongering Englishman, but if anybody among his acquaintances was well-informed about Halifax, it was Des Maizeaux. There is no limit to conjecture on these lines, but it is wiser to resist the temptation to speculate further. It is sufficient to claim that there is a reasonable basis for agreement with the generalization

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57) Lettres Philosophiques : Letter 21. Vol.II. pp.124-9.

58) Ibid. Appendix² to Letter 17. Sur l'infini et sur la cronologie. Vol. II. p. 77.

that Voltaire's English background probably owed much to the conversation of the Rainbow group.

There remains one question of some importance, not confined to the Lettres Philosophiques, but involving the whole problem of Voltaire's knowledge of, and indebtedness to the English deists. In view of Des Maizeaux's record in connection with the deists, is Voltaire's contact with him of any significance in that direction? This is really the question of the time at which Voltaire felt the full impact of English deism, and as such is again beyond the scope of the present account. Broadly speaking, a choice must be made between two points of view, with particular attention to the evidence for Des Maizeaux's association with Collins and Toland. There is first the traditional view which maintains that the deist influence must obviously date from Voltaire's stay in England, and stresses the importance of Bolingbroke. M. Bonet's Voltaire et l'Influence Anglaise may be taken as the representative exposition of this view ⁵⁹⁾. Against this is the much more cautious attitude of Prof. Torrey's Voltaire and the English Deists, with a very solid foundation in a detailed examination of Voltaire's library and notebooks. Prof. Torrey is certainly justified in

59) Especially in Chapters 8 and 9 on Bolingbroke and Le Déisme Anglais.

emphasizing that Voltaire's "constructive" deism is essentially French in origin, but his tendency to assign the direct impact of English critical deism to a late stage of Voltaire's development seems open to question. The basis of this view is that while Voltaire's notes show an interest in political and anti-clerical deism, represented by Mandeville, Gordon, and Tindal's Rights of the Christian Church, "there is no evidence in the notebook that he had ever heard of Toland, Collins or Woolston, or of the main deistic controversy" ⁶⁰). The potential importance of Des Maizeaux alone as a personal intermediary is enough to make one suspect that Prof. Torrey is over-cautious in his conclusions. On the evidence already cited concerning the Collins-Des Maizeaux association, the fact must be faced that in Des Maizeaux, Voltaire met not simply an "ami des déistes", but a man who had actually helped Collins to write his books, and may have been on similar terms with Toland. If, as seems to be the case, Voltaire met Des Maizeaux fairly regularly over a period of almost a year, is it credible that he should have remained ignorant of the main trends of critical deism in England at the time? The climax of the controversy over the Grounds and Reasons and the Scheme had not yet passed; from a letter of Collins in August 1727 ⁶¹) - when Voltaire must certainly have known Des Maizeaux, it seems probable

60) Voltaire and the English Deists. p. 3.

61) MS. 4282/220. Collins to DV. Aug. 15. 1727.

that the latter was engaged in matters connected with the Sehene. The St. Hyacinthe letter already quoted shows that this work was a point of discussion between him and Des Maizeaux, and probably among the French group generally. Moreover, in the middle of the known period of contact with Voltaire, Des Maizeaux is shown by the Merville letters to have visited Collins, with whom he doubtless discussed actual and potential developments of the deistic controversy. That Voltaire should have ignored these things going on around him is hardly conceivable; to make such an assumption is to rate his interest and curiosity lower than those of much humbler visitors to the Rainbow circle. There is ample evidence that contact with Des Maizeaux implied sooner or later an introduction to the deist movement. St. Hyacinthe, whose visits coincided with those of Voltaire, is a case in point; Von Hagedorn, a little later, is another.

Voltaire's interest in Lindal's Right of the Christian Church is itself something which might owe something to Des Maizeaux, who was much preoccupied with this work at the time of its publication, and strove to make it known abroad, and so may be that in Gordon, of whom Voltaire writes as though he had met him. If he did so, it was probably through Des Maizeaux's circle, although in the absence of documentary evidence it is unwise to insist upon such possibilities. It is true that in the Lettres Philosophique Voltaire studiously avoids direct treatment of the deists, although

he does, of course, make a passing reference to Collins, Toland, Shaftesbury and others. This omission is in fact so conspicuous that it leads one to think, with Lanson, that it is not a question of ignorance, but deliberate avoidance of a too dangerous topic. The general conclusion must be that during his stay in England, Voltaire had a good idea of the progress of deism, even if he had little detailed knowledge of deist works, and that Des Maizeaux himself probably played some part in awakening his interest. Beyond that one cannot go; the ultimate influence on Voltaire of Collins' ideas on free-will and determinism, and the criticisms in the Grounds and Reasons does not belong to the story of Des Maizeaux, however much he may have contributed to these works. It is worth adding, however, that Voltaire's copy of Collins' Inquiry concerning Liberty and Necessity was the translated version in Des Maizeaux's Recueil, and that his article on Toland in Lettres... sur Rabelais et sur d'autres auteurs accusés d'avoir mal parlé de la religion chrétienne shows acquaintance with Des Maizeaux's life of Toland, or an abstract of it. 62)

The link with Voltaire at the beginning of a new era in Anglo-French relations is of such potential importance that it imposes itself as the climax and conclusion of this

62) Voltaire and the English Deists : pp. 14, 32, and 36.

account of personal relationships in which Des Maizeaux is revealed at the meeting-point of English and French literary circles. After the Lettres Philosophiques such associations dwindle in importance, and as mere incidents in Des Maizeaux's last years, are best reserved for a brief mention in a later chapter. Another aspect of Des Maizeaux's literary activity at the Voltaire period now claims notice, and draws attention in a different direction.

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Chapter IX.

DES MAIZEAUX AND THE BAYLE TRADITION.

To turn from Voltaire to Bayle may seem, from the point of view of chronology, a strange reversal of the natural order, but the place of Bayle in the story of Des Maizeaux is determined by the appearance in 1730 of the latter's Vie de Bayle, joined to the edition of the Dictionary which was published in that year. There is another compelling reason for deferring until this point the discussion of Des Maizeaux's position with regard to the great thinker; Bayle is the great and essential leit-motiv in Des Maizeaux's life and work, and it is impossible to attempt either an account or an assessment without having first given some picture of the background of Des Maizeaux's career, against which this constant theme may acquire the necessary relief. Thus it is largely in retrospect that one must embark upon a relation of Des Maizeaux's rôle as editor, biographer and apostle of Bayle. It is a curious story, a kind of tragi-comedy, which does not redound altogether to Des Maizeaux's credit, but is perhaps the more interesting on that account.

The starting-point is, of course, Des Maizeaux's dealing with Bayle himself, during the last six years of the latter's life. Of their personal contact during the summer of 1699

nothing is known, but it is clear that on his passage through Holland, the young man from Geneva hastened to pay court to the person whom he must have already have come to regard as the great man of his world. The result of their encounters was to confirm Des Maizeaux's admiration and make of him a life-long devotee; as shown earlier, he also resolved to make the most of Bayle's good-will by corresponding with him, by sending books and suggestions, and by acting as Bayle's intermediary in England, as far as possible. Although inclined at first to resist the young man's attempt to gain a footing in the circle of his friends Bayle had finally to accept his attentions, and indeed found Des Maizeaux a useful contact in England. He seems genuinely to have developed a high opinion of his correspondent, to judge by such remarks as the following :

"Vos réflexions sur le Système de Mr. Leibniz, je vous le dis sans flatterie, sont à mon sens très-belles, ingénieuses, bien raisonnées, et pleines d'Erudition Ancienne." 1)

Bayle certainly encouraged Des Maizeaux, and placed confidence in him, one result being that he acted for Bayle in matters relating to publication in England, even during the latter's lifetime, as for example in the approach to Tonson concerning the English translation of the Dictionary and in other proposals for the English version of Pensées

1) Bayle : Letters. 1720. No. 210. Bayle to DM.
Oct. 22. 1700.

sur la Comète. In 1704, Des Maizeaux wrote on behalf of the Churchill brothers to enquire about a possible continuation of the Réponses aux Questions d'un Provincial ²⁾, and at about the same time it was proposed that Des Maizeaux should undertake the revision of the English Dictionary. Whether this was Bayle's suggestion is not clear; he approved the idea, but urged Des Maizeaux not to undertake the work at the expense of his health or other occupations ³⁾. In the end, Des Maizeaux was unable to take over the revision, probably because of previous commitments to Tonson in connection with the St. Evremont edition ⁴⁾. He continued however, to act as intermediary between Bayle and Tonson, ^t while the work on the Dictionary was continued by humble labourers named Maundy and De Beauvoir ⁵⁾. Directly or

2) op. cit. No. 260. Bayle to DM. June 17, 1704.

3) Ibid. Bayle writes : "Ce seroit un grand avantage à la Traduction Angloise de mon Dictionnaire, que vous revisiez le manuscrit et la dernière epreuve mais je ne voudrois pas l'acheter au préjudice de votre santé et de vos autres occupations."

4) op. cit. No. 264. Bayle to DM. Feb. 10. 1705.

5) Ibid.

indirectly, Des Maizeaux probably played a considerable part in promoting this first English edition of the Dictionary, which appeared in 1710, and one imagines that it was not at his own desire that he did not carry out its revision. This publication may have drawn him into close association with La Roche, who was also one of the translators ⁶⁾. The other collaborators are unknown, although Dr. L. P. Courtines suggests that Anthony Collins was one ⁷⁾. There is, however, no real evidence for this, and it is not at all the sort of task that one could imagine Collins undertaking. In any case, there was certainly no contact between Collins and La Roche before 1717, when it was suggested that the latter might translate some of the pieces for Des Maizeaux's Revueil, and this fact alone seems to dispose of Dr. Courtine's theory. It is thus difficult to assign to Des Maizeaux any particular part in publishing Bayle's works during the latter's life, although his general activities on his behalf certainly justified Bayle's comment that

"Il ne fut jamais un Ami plus officieux que vous
l'êtes." ⁸⁾

At the same time, Bayle's own acceptance of Des Maizeaux during his last years was the foundation of the latter's

7) Bayle's Relations with England and the English. p.147.

8) Bayle : Letters, 1729. No. 274. Bayle to DM. Dec.1, 1705.

6) Bayle : Letters 1729 . No. 274 . Bayle to DM. Dec.1. 1705

claim to the privilege of keeping alive the memory of the man, and giving greater currency to his message.

The fact must be faced sooner or later, and had better be faced at once, that Des Maizeaux's motives in publicizing Bayle and his own connection with him, were not unmixed. The case of Bayle is similar to that of St. Evremond, but in justice to Des Maizeaux, it should be conceded that although there was exploitation, it was not simply a matter of cold-blooded commercialism, but was mixed with an almost hero-worshipping zeal. St. Evremond was a very old man when Des Maizeaux encountered him, and the value of Des Maizeaux's work with him was that of literary research, in some cases almost of resurrection of writings which were, above all, of and for the 17th century, polite and aloof. Bayle, on the other hand, died in his prime, still engaged in active controversy, with a message for all the 18th century. In claiming a kind of proprietary interest in Bayle's works, Des Maizeaux took over, as it were, a going concern, and one which a more prudent man might have chosen to avoid. St. Evremond's death was expected and prepared for; that of Bayle came as a shock, in spite of his ill-health. There are indications that Des Maizeaux was not slow to appreciate the opportunity thus offered to him, of doing for Bayle what he had done creditably for St. Evremond. The editing of

the works and the writing of a biography would be another great step towards building up his own reputation; indeed, it appears from a letter of Matthieu Marais that he was planning to reprint some of Bayle's rarer pieces even before the author's death, this being in addition to promoting English translations ⁹⁾. Almost immediately after Bayle's death in December 1706, Des Maizeaux, knowing, doubtless, that he had left manuscript material connected with the Dictionary, proposed to Bayle's publisher Leers that he should prepare notes and corrections, and generally watch over the fortunes of the great work. Leers, to whom Bayle had left his manuscripts, sought the opinion of the executor, Basnage, and with his approval, accepted Des Maizeaux's offer. At the same time, Leers put forward, in confidence, an idea of his own, to publish a new dictionary on the same lines, with material not treated by Bayle, suggesting that Des Maizeaux should undertake the work, with or without assistance. It is probable that Leers intended to use the articles left by Bayle and later published as a supplement by Marchand, as the nucleus of this new dictionary. After some delay, Des Maizeaux half-agreed, but expressed natural hesitation about following a man of the stature of Bayle. Leers assured him that he was considered one of the best writers available for

9) MS. 4285/52-3. Marais to DM. July 8. 1706.

that type of work, and Basnage was willing to advise him ¹⁰⁾. Finally, Des Maizeaux agreed to prepare specimens, when his other occupations should leave him time, and for the first time produced the idea which he never abandoned - that of widening the scope of the work by including lives of illustrious Englishmen. This was an idea of real promise, but in 1707, the time was not yet ripe; Leers was dubious, and replied :

"Vous conviendrez sans doute avec moi que le principal débit de ce Dictionnaire se fait en France, et que les gens de Lettres d'Angleterre ne sont pas trop estimés dans ce pays-là." 11)

It is characteristic of the time that Leers should suggest instead an increased concentration on classical antiquity, as having a greater public appeal - Demosthenes, for example! This caution on the part of Leers appears to have damped Des Maizeaux's ardour, and the proposals lapsed, while the latter, moved to action by vague rumours of a biography of Bayle to be prepared at Rotterdam, turned to his own project of a Life. The result was the account subsequently published in English, which has already been mentioned in connection with Chafftenbury ¹²⁾. If Des Maizeaux was concerned with the publication of any of Bayle's works at this period, it

10) MS. 4284/200-205. Leers to DM. Jan. 18, April 1, and April 29. 1707.

11) MS. 4284/206. Leers to DM. ~~inixixixixix~~ June 7, 1707.

12) See Chapter III.

was probably with English translations, although the temporary slackening of his interest resulted chiefly, no doubt, from his ill-health and attempts to find a different kind of career.

In 1709, a re-awakening of his interest coincided with the retirement of Leers, who sold his business, including presumably the Bayle copyrights, to two partners, Fritsch, formerly of Leipzig, and Michel Böhm. These two expressed interest in Des Maizeaux's existing Life, and in editions of some of Bayle's works, such as the Commentaire Philosophique and Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique which Des Maizeaux proposed to re-issue. In 1710, Des Maizeaux appears to have broached once more the subject of the Dictionary, to be told that it must await the restoration of peace ¹³⁾. Meanwhile, the publishers had agreed to another proposal, namely the project of collecting and publishing Bayle's letters ¹⁴⁾. This idea, a useful and intelligent one, seems to have been in Des Maizeaux's mind even at the time of his abortive negotiations with Leers ¹⁵⁾

13) MS. 4283/278-9. Fritsch and Böhm to DM. July 17, 1710

14) MS. 4283/282, 284-5. Fritsch and Böhm to DM. Sept. 19, 1711, and Sept. 20, 1712.

15) MS. 4284/200-201. Leers to DM. Jan. 18, 1707. Leers says he will try to obtain Bayle's letters, evidently in response to a suggestion by DM.

but it was only from Fritsch and Böhm that he received full backing. The ultimate result was the edition of the letters published by them in 1714, but like other good ideas, it led to trouble - in this case, Des Maizeaux's feud with Prosper Marchand, a comic but unedifying affair of which the public must have become heartily sick. For a time, however, all went well, and Des Maizeaux's papers bear witness to his patient labours to assemble his collection of authentic letters, sometimes in the face of a hostile or at least uncooperative attitude on the part of some of Bayle's correspondents, such as Du Rondel ¹⁶⁾. Because of the slowness of communication and the claims of other undertakings, such as the Vie de Boileau, the process of collection was a slow one, but by 1711 Des Maizeaux had a hundred letters and a number of opuscules - enough to propose publication. It is interesting to note that he wished to make the collection as genuine as possible, and opposed any suppression of names, since, as he put it characteristically,

"nous ne vivons plus, Dieu Merci, sous l'Inquisition
des Visionnaires et des Zélés" 17).

16) MS. 4289/125-6, draft. Df. to Du Rondel. May 24, 1711.
MS. 4287/268-9, 27C. Du Rondel to Df. June 26 and
Sept. 13, 1711. Df. appealed widely for Bayle's letters
among his correspondents.

17) MS. 4289/125-6. Df. to Du Rondel, May 24, 1711.

In view of the suspicion with which Bayle was regarded by the orthodox powers in France, the publication of his correspondence was "dangerous", and a certain amount of hostility was inevitable. Des Maizeaux's interest was not confined to Bayle's own letters, but extended also to correspondence received by him, and for some time he worked to bring about the publication of it, in collaboration with one Dupuy, a miscellaneous writer and formerly secretary to the Congress of Ryswick, who had bought the letters from the legatee. The French censorship, however, placed a virtual ban on publication of the material as it stood, and the project was abandoned ¹⁸⁾; the letters themselves finally found their way to the Royal Library at Copenhagen, to be neglected until the late nineteenth century ¹⁹⁾.

18) MS. 4289/131, draft. DM. to Fritsch and Böhm, Nov. 13, 1713. This refers to meetings between DM. and Dupuy in England, and the difficulties with the French censorship. DM. proposed a restored and authentic edition, in secret, of course, on account of "La sagaterie qui règne à Paris". See also MS. 4289/150, draft. DM. to Dupuy, Feb. 2. 1716; MS. 4283/178-9, Dupuy to DM. June 12, 1716. Dupuy gave up the project for fear of compromising himself.

19) A selection of them was published in 1890 by Emile Gigas.

Meanwhile, the war with Marchand had broken out. The root of this affair was undoubtedly pure jealousy between two men of very similar type. Marchand, formerly in business as a Paris bookseller, had gone to Holland at about the time when the collection of Bayle's letters was first proposed, and was emerging into notice as a kind of literary jack-of-all-trades and publishers' consultant. Like Des Maizeaux, he possessed considerable learning, and played an active part in the production of the Journal Littéraire. The first hint of any dealings between this pair occurs in 1711, when Marchand showed some interest in a collection of miscellaneous pieces, probably "lives", for which de la Motte was seeking a publisher on Des Maizeaux's behalf ²⁰⁾. These tentative negotiations seem to have dropped, however, while Des Maizeaux concentrated on Bayle's letters; these were to be accompanied by the usual brief explanatory notes, and Fritsch and Böhm were prepared to print them by 1711, although haggling over the price of the copy delayed matters until 1713 ²¹⁾. By this time, Marchand was acting as the publishers' reader, and between them they proposed that he should take charge of the edition, although

20) MS. 4286/148, 153. De la Motte to DM. Sept. 1 and Oct. 10, 1711.

21) As usual, De la Motte acted for DM. MS. 4286/180 etc. MS. 4283/284-5.

his name was not actually mentioned. Des Maizeaux, who to do him justice, seems to have acted disinterestedly and stood to gain little reward for his trouble in collecting Bayle's letters from all corners of Europe, acceded readily to the suggestion, and agreed that the publishers' unnamed collaborator should edit the letters and provide additional notes. A draft exists of a most polite and encouraging letter which he wrote at the time : -

"Je suis trop sensible à l'attention que vous voulez bien donner à l'édition des Lettres de M. Bayle pour différer plus longtemps à vous en témoigner ma reconnaissance. Comme ma principale vue a été de rendre ce Recueil agréable au Public, je ne vous suis pas moins obligé de la peine que vous avez prise de supprimer quelques-unes de ces lettres, que des Notes également curieuses et instructives dont vous avez enrichi les autres. Il ne me reste plus que de vous prier de souffrir que j'aie l'honneur de vous connoître, et de vous consulter lorsque l'occasion s'en présentera Continuez, Monsieur, à perfectionner ce Recueil, et sur tout à retrancher les lettres qui ne vous paroîtront pas intéressantes." 22)

So far, all was well, and Des Maizeaux showed his goodwill towards the publishers by continuing to negotiate on their behalf with Dupuy, who was in England in 1713, and had in his possession certain family letters of Bayle, which he could not obtain permission from the examineur to print. Meanwhile the printing of Des Maizeaux's collection went on, and proofs were sent to him, until the end of 1713. Then followed a strange silence on the part of the publishers

22) MS. 4289/129, draft. DA. to Marchand. March 20, 1713.

- so strange that Des Maizeaux demanded an explanation. He was suspicious, especially as he knew from De la Motte that the printing was continuing, but --

"après tout, je ne saurois me persuader que vous vouliez publier ces Lettres à mon insu, et me priver de tous les droits qu'un Auteur a naturellement sur les Imprimés dont il a fourni la Copie." 23)

Again there was silence; at Des Maizeaux's entreaty, De la Motte obtained from Marchand, who was now actually living in the house of Fritsch, confirmation that the letters were still being printed. Des Maizeaux thereupon wrote to Marchand, appealing to him to set matters right between the publishers and himself ²⁴⁾. Although Marchand had never actually admitted to Des Maizeaux that he had taken over the edition, but had written anonymously of "raisons très particulières" for wishing not to be named in connection with it, Des Maizeaux had known for some time that it was Marchand's handiwork ²⁵⁾. The new circumstances clearly aroused in him suspicions regarding Marchand, which swiftly crystallized into the notion that the latter might have stopped the dispatch of the proofs to him, either to swindle Des Maizeaux out of his claims and share

23) MS. 4289/133. Copy. DM. to Fritsch and Böhm. Dec. 11/22, 1713.

24) MS. 4239/134. Copy. DM. to Marchand, probably Dec. 1713.

25) MS. 4286/196-7. De la Motte to DM. May 5, 1713.

in the profits or reputation which the edition might bring, or because Marchand's notes contained injurious references to Bayle's correspondents or other prominent people, which he feared Des Maizeaux might wish to suppress. The latter pointed out with justice that he had given the other a free hand to improve the edition, and desired only that their notes should be distinguished - as indeed they were. Des Maizeaux did not conceal the nature of his suspicions - but of course, he could not think Marchand capable of such conduct ! To Des Maizeaux's credit, it should be added that he ended his appeal on a conciliatory note, offering further co-operation ²⁶⁾. Not content with writing to Marchand, Des Maizeaux appealed also to Jacques Basnage to act as mediator between himself and the publishers; Basnage did so, but ineffectually ²⁷⁾. In the meantime Marchand, somewhat nettled by Des Maizeaux's attitude, replied in a letter which, while observing the diplomatic niceties, was still evasive on the subject of the notes, and was not calculated to soothe Des Maizeaux ²⁸⁾. To make matters worse, Marchand gave his reply to Böhm, who quietly pigeon-holed

26) MS. 4289/134. Copy. DM. to Marchand.

27) MS. 4289/137. Extract from a letter of Fritsch and Böhm to Basnage.

28) MS. 4285/147-8. Marchand to DM. Jan. 15, 1714 with a postscript of Feb. 18.

it for over a month, by which time Des Maizeaux must have been seething with rage. But the climax of the first act of this comedy was reached when the two publishers, in a letter to Easnage, at last condescended to inform the irate Des Maizeaux of the real reason, why they had ceased to send him the proofs - a little rumour which had come to their ears, to the effect that Des Maizeaux was selling the copy twice, and that as he received the proofs, a translation was being prepared from them in England ! 29)

Whether there was any truth in this can only be a matter for conjecture now; Des Maizeaux was certainly capable of it, for the commercial dealings between writers and book-sellers were at best a battle of wits. On the available evidence, however, he may in this case be acquitted. His papers provide no proof of guilt, and it is unlikely that he would have left himself without copies of the letters. On the whole, the argument put forward in his denial is fairly convincing, though not conclusive.

"cette imposture est d'ailleurs si mal imaginée, qu'il y a lieu d'être surpris que vous ayez pû y faire la moindre attention; car vous devez assez connoître le goût de chaque pays, pour être persuadé que les Lettres de Mr. Bayle ne sont pas du nombre de ces Ouvrages que les étrangers s'empressent à traduire en leur Langue; et tous ceux qui connoissent Londres, vous

29) MS. 4289/137. An undated extract.

diront qu'il n'y a pas un Libraire dans cette Ville
qui voulut en imprimer une Traduction Angloise, la lui
donnât-on pour rien." 30)

"grâces à Dieu" cried Des Maizeaux, "je n'écris point pour
du pain, ni ne l'ai jamais fait", and this brought the
ironical rejoinder : -

"Nous ne sommes point informés si vous écrivez pour
avoir du pain ou non, mais l'exemple de la Vie de
Boileau que vous avez vendu à un Libraire Anglois et
à un Libraire de ce païs (sic) en même tems, doit
nous porter naturellement à croire que vous n'êtes
pas si généreux comme vous nous le dites par cette
Lettre." 31)

With this exchange of courtesies, the first and private
phase of the war ended. The edition of the letters was
completed in April 1714, and the publishers at once fulfilled
their obligations to Des Maizeaux, except that they refused
to return the letters which Marchand had rejected, lest Des
Maizeaux should use them in any way detrimental to their
interest; rather than return them, they finally paid for
them, as a safeguard. 32)

The work was now on the market, and if Des Maizeaux was
seeking an opportunity of venting his spleen, he found it
in Marchand's handiwork, which more than justified his mis-
givings, and afforded an adequate casus belli. In place of

30) MS. 4289/138-141. Copy. DM. to Fritsch and Böhm.
March 9, 1714. There is another draft of March 5.
MS. 4289/135-6, 142-3.

31) MS. 4283/288-9. Fritsch and Böhm to DM. April 13, 1714.

32) MS. 4288/190-1. Isaac Vaillant to DM. Feb. 15, 1715.

the simple and purely informative annotation envisaged by Des Maizeaux, Marchand had produced long comments, and critical estimates of prominent figures concerned in Bayle's correspondence, together with an enormous table taking up two thirds of the last volume, and which really was ridiculous. The notes themselves were interesting and informative, but considering their source, much too patronizing, however justified some of Marchand's opinions may have been. The result was widespread indignation, much of which was directed against the luckless Des Maizeaux, as the originator of the edition. Characteristic was the complaint of Matthieu Marais writing as one of those who had supplied letters.

"N'avons nous pas tous raison de nous plaindre en voyant vos lettres servir d'allongement à ces notes, et encore plus à cette Table Satyrique qui attaque les personnes les plus dignes de Respect ?" 33)

From Des Maizeaux's point of view, the edition of Bayle's letters, a creditable undertaking, had become a fiasco, and his indignation knew no bounds. It found expression in a series of bitter attacks on the publishers, and on this wretched ex-libraire, this miserable correcteur d'imprimerie Marchand, who not content with setting himself up in judgment over men of reputation, was now to meddle with Bayle's Dictionary, of which Fritsch and Böhm at last proposed to give a new edition, from which Des Maizeaux was to be

33) MS. 4285/82-3. Marais to Dm. June 1, 1714.

excluded. That was the crowning insult, and the embittered Des Maizeux rained blows upon Marchand from all angles. More responsible journalists such as Bignon and Le Clerc declined to be drawn in, but Masson's Histoire Critique, Nouvelles Littéraires, the Dutch edition of the Journal des Savants and even Sallengre's learned Mémoires de Littérature became vehicles for a variety of polemics, ranging from pin-pricks in the form of bogus nouvelles littéraires from "Geneva" or "Rotterdam", to an enormous barrage in the form of 87 pages of Remarques Critiques sur l'Édition des lettres de Mr. Bayle faite à Rotterdam en 1714, published by Masson in the Histoire Critique. These spiteful attacks extended also to Fritsch and Böhm's edition of the Commentaire Philosophique, and Des Maizeux accused Marchand of tampering with Bayle's manuscripts of the pieces which were being used for a supplement to the Dictionary. It was true that he had amended orthography and in some cases modified Bayle's phraseology, already becoming old-fashioned, but Marchand was easily able to refute charges of actual forgery or falsification, and to obtain an imposing body of testimony as to the authenticity of the manuscripts used. In fact, Marchand's work on the 1720 edition of the Dictionary was extremely sound. 34)

34) The following list gives an idea of Des Maizeux's pursuit of Marchand.
Histoire Critique : Vol. VI. Art. 9, p. 229. Letter from "Geneva" on the edition of the Commentaire.

In his anger, Des Maizeaux even published Marais' private letter of complaint, and in doing so nearly alienated him for ever 35). At the same time, to spite Fritsch and Böhm, he offered the letters to the Geneva publishers Fabri and Barillot, who were producing a pirated edition of the

34) (continued)

Philosophique; pp. 393-4 Letter from "Rotterdam"; pp. 394-7. A section of Marais' letter of June 1. 1714.

Vol. VII. pp. 260-347. "Remarques Critiques" on the edition of the Letters.

Vol. VIII. pp. 313-351. "Lettre de Mr. Des Maizeaux à Mr. Coste". - p. 412. "nouvelles littéraires" from "Geneva".

Vol. X. p. 225-276. "Avis important au Public sur l' Edition fausse et tronquée du Dictionnaire de Mr. Bayle qui se fait à Rotterdam."

Vol. XI. "nouvelles littéraires" from "Rotterdam".

Vol. XII. "nouvelles littéraires" from "Rotterdam."

Nouvelles Littéraires. May 14, 1715 - remarks on an error by Marchand.

Journal des Savants. Amsterdam edition - Jan. 1715, pp. 49-85 - "Lettre de Mr. Des Maizeaux à Mr. Coste."

Mémoires de Littérature. Vol. II. Art. 9. p. 233.

Marchand defended his supplement to the Dictionary in the Journal Littéraire Vol. VIII pt.1. Arts. 7 and 9, and in the Journal des Savants, Amsterdam ed., March 1718, p. 290.

35) MS. 4285/90-91. Marais to DM. March 10, 1716.

Dictionary ³⁶⁾, and in 1716 reprinted the Histoire de Mr. Bayle et de ses Cuvrages written by Abbé Du Revest for this Geneva Dictionary. This reprint provided the pretext for publishing a number of polemics concerned with the Marchand affair rather than with Bayle, which made up a volume of nearly six hundred pages ³⁷⁾. Not content with casting doubts on the authenticity of the material of Marchand's editions, Des Maizeaux delivered himself of an extraordinary farrago of criticisms from the typographical angle. Naturally, Marchand was moved to defend himself, and gave as good as he got, and sometimes better. It was perhaps as a result of this somewhat unwelcome publicity that Fritsch and Böhm sold the copyright of the letters in 1716. It was then proposed that Des Maizeaux should begin the whole thing afresh, and prepare a revised and augmented edition ³⁸⁾. This

36) MS. 4283/218-9. Fabri and Barillot to DM. May 16, 1714.

37) It contains an Exacte Revue de l'Histoire de Mr. Bayle, De la Bastide's dissertation on the Avis aux Réfugiés, critical letters on the Commentaire Philosophique edition, and that of the letters, and a reprint of DM's attack on the Marchand edition of the Dictionary. DM's responsibility for this publication is proved by a letter from S. Masson, Nov. 29, 1715. MS. 4285/169.

38) Masson's publisher Desbordes was to give a new edition, but the failure of the project may have been caused by Dupuy's withdrawal. MS. 4283/80-82. Desbordes to DM. Jan. 7, April 7, 1716.

project remained unfulfilled for some years, but the ultimate outcome of the Marchand feud was that in 1729 Des Maizeaux did reprint the letters, annotated afresh in a simple objective manner which was more suitable, although less interesting to the non-contemporary reader. But still Des Maizeaux's anger was not spent, and an offensive preface brought the dispute to a third phase, during which it was again dragged into the periodicals ³⁹⁾, in spite of the fact that the public had long grown tired of it - by 1716, according to De la Motte - and withdrawn the sympathy which had originally supported Des Maizeaux. This was hardly surprising, since Des Maizeaux's arguments tended to reduce themselves to a view that Marchand, having been in the bookselling trade, had no right to set up as an homme de lettres. Marchand replied with spirit that he would rather be an honest and capable bookseller than a Regrattier de Littérature - and what was the difference between himself

39) Marchand replied to D¹'s preface in the Journal Littéraire Vol. XII pt. 2 pp. 452-461. D² attacked him again in the 1730 edition of the Dictionary and in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée, Vol. V pt. 2. Art. 12 (ostensibly an abstract of the edition of the Letters). Marchand's last reply was in 1731, in the Journal Littéraire Vol. XVII p. 185. Several MS. drafts of an attack by D¹ are to be found with his collection of Bayle's letters. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4226/314-321, MS. 4289/200 - 211.

selling books, and Des Maizeaux peddling manuscripts ? In his replies to Des Maizeaux's later strictures, Marchand dredged up all the details of the original trouble between his antagonist and Fritsch and Böhm, beginning with the 1713 edition of the Commentaire philosophique, which, according to Marchand, Des Maizeaux desired to dedicate to an influential person; being disappointed in his design, he thereby lost a few guineas ! This was the stage reached in these deplorable and ghoulish squabbles over the legacy of Bayle, and the best thing in the whole sorry business was said by Marchand at its close.

"Qu'il cesse de s'y tromper. Nous sommes, lui et moi, de trop petits compagnons dans la République des Lettres, pour prétendre en occuper continuellement le tapis."

As a rule, Des Maizeaux was so good-natured and helpful to other writers, and even to Marchand at first, that it is difficult to account for his subsequent loathing of the man, and a spitefulness in expressing it which is almost pathological. There is nothing comparable to it in Des Maizeaux's career, and it may well have originated in a sense of genuine injury at being unjustly accused of double-dealing. His very readiness to make a public issue of it suggests again that he was innocent. Apart from that, he undoubtedly had a legitimate grievance against Marchand, but lost all sense of proportion over it, probably from increasing

resentment at the thought of a rival poaching on his preserves in the matter of Bayle's works, and this in spite of his own friendship with Bayle. This lamentable affair, however justified it may have been initially, succeeded finally only in defacing an otherwise honourable record of work in connection with Bayle. On the credit side, it must be acknowledged that it was Des Maizeaux's initiative alone which saved Bayle's letters for posterity, - a contribution which is not affected by the dispute with Marchand ⁴⁰⁾. As a result of this quarrel, Des Maizeaux had no part in Böhm's 1720 edition of the Dictionary, which he tried so unjustifiably to discredit. On the other hand, he revised and expanded all the other French editions of the great work during his life - those published in Amsterdam in 1730 and 1740, by the Wetsteins and their associates, and also, apparently, the Trévoux edition of 1734. His position as Bayle's general editor was not affected, for he was largely responsible for gathering together the material for the monumental 4-volume edition of Bayle's other works,

40) Apart from the separate editions of 1714 and 1729, the letters were printed with Bayle's collected works 1727 - 1731. There was also an abortive project for a Paris edition under the care of Simon de Valh  bert, in which D  . was involved. MS. 4287/235-244, 4289/245-6, 4288/195-7. Correspondence of D  . Valh  bert and De la Haye.

published at The Hague and Rotterdam from 1727 to 1731⁴¹⁾.

Des Maizeaux's admiration of Bayle found its best expression in his biography - not the English account of 1708, but the French version published with the 1730 edition of the Dictionary. Like his work as an editor of Bayle, it too has its amusing background, in the shape of certain correspondence of that witty, malicious and penetrating observer of the contemporary scene, Matthieu Marais, who represents the most constant of Des Maizeaux's contacts with his native land. Des Maizeaux's own letters to Marais are unfortunately lost, except for one or two odd drafts, but as a compensation for this, there are Marais' letters to other persons, notably Mme. de Méricourt and Président Bouhier, which give an entertaining commentary upon his letters to and relations with Des Maizeaux, over a period of thirty years. Marais had a poor opinion of Des Maizeaux; as his editor Lescure says : -

"Il épanche contre Desmaizeaux, le compilateur
besogneux, le biographe sans passion et sans délicatesse
son indignation de fidèle jaloux, qui voit dans la

41) MS. 4284/177-191. Letters of Thomas Johnson to DM.
1727-1732. Marais supplied some of the material.
MS. 4285, and Bibl. Nationale MS. F - Fr, 25 541/308.
Bouhier to Marais. Feb. 25, 1730.

moindre maladresse et dans la moindre négligence une profanation." 42)

Both Marais and his editor are guilty of some injustice towards Des Maizeux, but this comment sets the tone of Marais' attitude well enough.

Des Maizeux opened this odd association in 1706, by presenting to Marais a copy of the St. Evremont edition in the hope of gaining his support for the various projects relating to Bayle, whose friend and collaborator Marais had himself been 43). Marais responded favourably, impressed by Bayle's own regard for Des Maizeux, although he had no high opinion of the latter's Vie de St. Evremont as a specimen considering it privately to be "mauvaise, froide et allongée" 44). There was then an ^{Vol}intermittent in their relation until after the appearance of the English Life, when Des Maizeux, now seriously intending to produce a full-scale biography in French, enlisted the aid of Basnage. He apparently discussed the prospects with Marais, and the two of them decided that they would co-operate towards the production of a biography which should be a memorial to the dead philosopher. Marais wrote to Basnage : -

42) Journal et Mémoires de Matthieu Marais; ed. Leseure. Vol. I. p. 42.

43) MS. 4285/52-3. Marais to EM. July 8, 1706.

44) Marais : Journal etc. Vol. I. p. 123. Marais to Mme. de Méricourt. May 13, 1710.

"Pour travailler à cette vie que Mr. Desmaizeaux nous fait espérer, et qui a esté gâtée dans l'ouvrage Anglois, il faudroit avoir le *Kalendarium Carolanum*, où Mr. Bayle a marqué lui-même sa naissance et les Principales Epoques de sa vie jusques à 40 ans "

But Marais was a little dubious, too --

"Mr. Desmaizeaux est-il assez informé de tout pour remplir un si grand dessein ?" 45)

Basnage, however, was for helping Des Maizeaux as much as possible, subject to careful supervision of any publication of Bayle's manuscripts, and appealed to Marais to supply all the information he could 46). Marais accordingly negotiated with Bayle's nephew and heir, to obtain the essential documents. After some difficulties, obstructions and delays, he was able to send them to Des Maizeaux, although he expressed his private conviction that the latter was not "l'homme qu'il nous faut pour parler du plus grand homme du monde" and that "cela ne vaut guère mieux que rien." 47)

However, the thing was done. "Voilà Mr. Desmaizeaux très-instruit, il n'a plus qu'à bien faire. que ne suis-je à sa place ?" cried Marais 48) His forebodings were not

45) Bibl. Nationale. MS. F-F⁴. 25 669, p. 163. Marais to Basnage, Sept. 27, 1709 (copy).

46) Ibid. p. 169. Basnage to Marais.

47) Marais : *Journal etc.* Vol. I. p.123. Marais to Mme. de Mérognies. May 13, 1710.

48) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 124. Marais to Mme. de Mérognies. May 17, 1710.

groundless. Des Maizeaux was ill; he had plans for a new St. Evremond; he did not know when he would be able to start work - and so the delay continued. These vacillations were a torment to the testy and single-minded advocate, who would burst out into expressions of his nervous irritation in letters to Mme. de Mérégniac.

"C'est un sot homme avec qui je ne veux plus de commerce un petit esprit, occupé de fadaïses, et un auteur pauvre qui court après le libraire pour gagner." 49)

And there indeed lay the enormity of Des Maizeaux's offence - he was "un auteur pauvre" ! Nothing could show more clearly the gulf which separated the Parisian amateur of letters, secure in his profession, and the struggling refugee across the Channel. Of the two, Des Maizeaux is perhaps entitled to greater sympathy, for he was not responsible for his poverty or his exile, and his intention in planning a worthy biography of Bayle were undoubtedly sincere and honourable. But Marais was already regretting the help he had given, and even deliberately suppressing material at his disposal, an action which can hardly be condoned except on the grounds of a possible intention to write a biography himself. A note to Mme. de Mérégniac concerning information in another person's hands runs :

49) Marais : Journal etc. Vol. I. p. 125-6. Marais to Mme. de Mérégniac. Aug. 1710.

"Je lui ai conseillé de ne le point montrer, et encore
moins de l'envoyer à Mr. Desmaizeaux." 50)

And yet even Marais was sometimes moved to sympathize with Des Maizeaux, for his intentions, if not for his performance. He had had trouble with Bayle's heir, who seemed to him to be shockingly indifferent to the memory of his uncle. He again expressed his feelings to Mme. de Mérigniac :

"Imaginez-vous bien que ce pauvre homme qui est là-bas en Angleterre languit dans l'attente d'une chose ou l'amitié seule l'intéresse, pendant que le parent et le neveu est si indifférent." 51)

But although Marais did co-operate in this and in other affairs of Des Maizeaux, the Vie de Bayle which was his only real interest, was gradually lost sight of among Des Maizeau's other undertakings, such as the Vie de Boileau, which exasperated Marais intensely, the plan for the Bayle supplement and finally the collection of letters and the resulting imbroglio with Marchand. Nor is this surprising, in view of Des Maizeaux's other commitments, his posts in connection with the potteries, and his work for the journals. Perhaps, too, he felt that he could not do justice to the subject, for until their quarrel with him, Fritsch and Böhm were still pressing him to complete the work, and nothing was done. The correspondence with Marais continued intermittently, however, in spite of the Marchand affair, which nearly caused

50) Bibl. Nationale MSS. F-Fr. 24 424/23b. Marais to Mme. de Mérigniac, July 1, 1710

51) Ibid. F-Fr. 24 414/26b. Marais to Mme. de Mérigniac, Sept. 17

a final rupture, since Marais objected, as well he might, to all these polemics in the literary journals, which were of no service to the glory of Bayle. So little by little, Des Maizeaux's life of Bayle seems to have taken on the aspect of a legend; he would not fully admit authorship of the English draft of 1708, and no edy, it seemed, was destined to set eyes on the real thing, although there were more tentative negotiations in 1721⁵²⁾. The next stage in the relations of Des Maizeaux and Marais was reached in connection with the edition of Bayle's works projected in 1723 by a group of booksellers in Holland, including Des Maizeaux's old friend Thomas Johnson. Bayle's letters were to be included, and there was more talk of the mythical life. After all that had gone before, this was too much for Marais; in a reply to a letter from the publishers, he declared bluntly :

"Je ne sçais qui peut avoir travaillé à cette ample Vie de Mr. Bayle qui doit estre à la teste du premier Volume. Si c'est Mr. Desmaizeaux, je ne le tiens pas propre à cet ouvrage, si nous en pouvons juger par la Vie de St. Evremont." 53)

In view of this, Des Maizeaux's continuing belief that Marais was his friend lends a certain piquancy to the situation. By this time, needless to say, Marais' scorn had reached the

52) M. 4280/240. De la lettre to D. March 21, 1721.

53) Bibl. Nationale. A 3. F-Fr. 25 669/172-3. Marais to the publishers. Jan. 20. 1724. (copy)

point where Des Maizeaux was regarded by him as a standing joke, as is xamply witnessed by his remarks to his distinguish' friend Bouhier. Nevertheless, he relented slightly over Des Maizeaux's 1729 edition of Bayle's letters, which included a few additions - "car c'est un grand ajouteur" - said Marais. Any praise from Marais was hard-earned, and when the latter gave it as his opinion that

"M. Desmaizeaux a mieux fait qu'il ne lui appartient;
ses notes sont en vrai style de notes, courtes,
instructives," 54)

it may be accepted as a fair estimate of Des Maizeaux's work in cleaning up after Marchand.

Finally, the impossible happened; after shirking it for twenty years, Des Maizeaux actually wrote his Vie de Bayle, at the instigation of his friend De la Motte, who intimated that it would be acceptable to the publishers of the 1730 Dictionar. Promised in two months, it took considerably longer, being for the most part written in haste during the summer and autumn of 1729. It also turned out to be on a bigger scale than the publishers had anticipated, and this provoked yet another of Des Maizeaux's arguments with booksellers, over payment. It

54) Marais, Journal etc. Vol. IV. p. 37. Marais to Bouhier, July 1, 1729.

was finally settled at 26 guineas, out of which he had to pay an amanuensis. Such was the reward for his best original work.⁵⁵⁾

It may be imagined that Marais was as surprised as anyone, to hear that there really was to be a Vie de Bayle after all; his first reaction was the terse comment : "Il a de bonnes intentions qu'il ne pourra mettre à fin"⁵⁶⁾. Des Maizeaux politely sent him a copy, and on reading it, he thought it at first "un long, ennuyeux et froid discours" but then, he did not Mme. de Mérigniac always said to him :

"Monsieur, il nous le tuera encore au lieu de le faire revivre ?"

To des Maizeaux, however, he signified his approval in general, except for a petulant outburst at having been omitted from a list of Bayle's collaborators and enveloped in a comprehensive etc. A little later, Marais observed to Bouhier : -

"Je l'ai relue; il y a bien des choses curieuses; elle n'est pas mal écrite, et s'il ne s'étoit pas embarrassé à faire l'apologie de l'Avis aux Réfugiés, qui en est plutôt une satire, et à allonger de certaines disputes philosophiques cette vie seroit assez bonne."⁵⁷⁾

55) The business side of the Vie de Bayle can be traced from letters of William Mith (MS. 4288/115 etc.) and De la Motte. (MS. 4287).

56) Marais : Journal etc., Vol. IV. p. 27. Marais to Bouhier. May 9, 1729.

57) Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 157. Marais to Bouhier, Aug. 26, 1730 p. 135, Marais to Bouhier, June 4, 1730.

And to complete the picture of Des Maizeaux's Bayle through contemporary eyes, and those of his hardest critics, Bouhier's rejoinder to Marais was : -

"J'ai lu avec plaisir sa Vie de Bayle, qui m'a paru d'une grande exactitude. Il dit bien des choses curieuses, principalement sur ce qui regarde les différents démêlés de Bayle, dont il expose assez bien les sujets En un mot, je ne croyois pas votre ami capable de si bien faire, et cette Vie lui fera honneur." 58)

In fact, the Vie de Bayle is not a bad piece of work, and compares very favourably with average contemporary biography. It was published separately in 1732, and, as an accompaniment to the Dictionary, it was translated into both English and German. Although it fails to present Bayle as a personality, it can still be read with profit, if not pleasure, and is a valuable basis for later work. Isaac D'Israeli considered that it lacked "that sympathy which throws inspiration over the vivifying page of biography", but admitted its merit - "that we are sure to find what we want." 59). It is fairly lengthy, sober and well-documented and it is unfortunate that the mass of first-hand and published material which Des Maizeaux carefully collected seems to have come between him and the personality of his subject. The result is an account of Bayle's writings

58) Bibl. Nationale MS. F-Fr. 25 541/350. Bouhier to Marais. Sept. 23, 1730.

59) Curiosities of Literature. 1341. pp. 378-382.

rather than of his life; Des Maizeaux's Bayle is an abstraction, but then, could it be otherwise? As Pierre Lanfrey observes, "L'histoire de la vie de Bayle est l'histoire de ses pensées", and in his methodical, laborious way, Des Maizeaux brings this out, and gives a competent treatment of the diffuse and difficult subject of Bayle's many controversies. There is an occasional touch of humour, as, for example, in dealing with Jurieu: -

"Un de ses amis ne put s'empêcher de lui écrire, qu'il se déshonorait par ses liaisons avec un certain Ministre Réfugié de Londres. Mr. Jurieu lui répondit 'C'est un fripon, il est vrai; mais, il est orthodoxe', ce qui fit qu'on appelloit ordinairement ce Ministre le fripon orthodoxe."

One of the more interesting aspects of the work is the vexed question of Bayle and the Avis aux Réfugiés. Des Maizeaux is a leader of those who could not accept the more general opinion that Bayle wrote it, and his preoccupation with this question, amounting almost to an obsession, had led him to re-open the discussion of it in public ⁶⁰). He clearly

60) In Nouvelles littéraires, Aug. 1, 1716, pp. 81-96, and the Histoire Critique, Vol. XIII, Art. 12. He nearly fell out with Du Sauzet over this polemic. MS. 4287/340. Du Sauzet to DM. Oct. 16, 1716. In his last reply, Marchand made fun of DM's "Marotte touchant L'Avis aux Réfugiés, qu'il ne contesloit si ridiculement à M. Bayle que par pur Esprit de Contradiction et parce que je le lui avois si positivement attribué." (J-L. Vol. XVII, p. 185 etc.) This, however, is not true; DM. was trying to get first-hand testimony on the subject long before the Marchand affair. e.g. MS. 4285/250, Noetjens (a printer) to DM. March 22, 1709.

thought^{it} unworthy of his hero, but was in the unhappy position of being not quite able to convince himself of Bayle's "innocence". There are many indications in his correspondence of his conscientious attempts to get at the truth, and he finally made himself somewhat ridiculous by his stubborn refusal to convict Bayle of the authorship of that equivocal work. But Marais' remark to Bouhier on the subject is, in a way, the most unjust thing he ever said about Des Maizeaux, for although he had advised the latter to drop the subject, he himself was partly responsible for Des Maizeaux's worries and indecision. In 1716 he expressed his belief to Des Maizeaux, that Bayle did not write the Avis ⁶¹⁾ - but his real view appears more clearly in a letter to Mme. de Mérégniac in 1710.

"Je ne souffrirai point qu'on le soutienne auteur de l'Avis ni même qu'on fasse sur cela des présuppositions comme veut faire M. Desmaizeaux. Il faut dire non avec notre ami puisqu'il l'a dit." ⁶²⁾

In 1724, he tried to impress his view on the publishers of Bayle's collected works ⁶³⁾ - namely that Bayle's denial of authorship should be accepted, yet Marais' real opinion is represented by the following : -

61) MS. 4285/92-97. Marais to DL. Aug. 1, 1716. He advised DL. to drop the whole business.

62) Marais : Journal etc. Vol. I. p. 124. May 14, 1710. In 1709 Marais pressed Basnage not to countenance any attempt on DL's part to prove that Bayle wrote the Avis. Bibl. Nationale MS. F-Fr. 25 669. p.165. (copy)

63) Bibl. Nationale 13. F-Fr. 25669 / 172-3. Jan. 20, 1724. (copy)

"J'ai relu l'Avis aux Réfugiés; il faut se crever les yeux pour ne pas voir qu'il est de Bayle, et qu'il ne peut jamais être d'un autre." 64)

So far as Des Maizeaux was concerned, there is no doubt that Marais deliberately obscured an already difficult question, which is another reason for directing one's sympathy towards Des Maizeaux. There is a curious contrast between these two differing loyalties; Marais, a man of great integrity, was prepared to defend what he believed to be a lie, while Des Maizeaux, whose integrity is less assured, on the whole, boggled unhappily over Bayle's equivocal position. In the circumstances, it was grossly unfair of Marais to criticize this particular element of Des Maizeaux's biography since the latter would almost certainly have accepted the real opinion of Marais, had it been frankly expressed. This difference between Des Maizeaux and Marais, - and indeed other friends of Bayle, - is illustrated again by Marais' disapproval of Des Maizeaux for publishing a letter of Bayle to his brother containing strong comments against the reformed religion. Marais himself was a moderate Catholic, but he thought Des Maizeaux's action wrong.

"Des Maizeaux, qui est en pays libre, se soucie peu apparemment du qu'en-dira-t-on et de l'indécence de la publication de cette lettre." 65)

64) Marais & Journal etc. Vol. IV. p. 183. Marais to Bouhier. Nov. 22, 1730.

65) Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 104. Marais to Bouhier. Feb. 19, 1730.

As in the case of Bayle's letters, there seems to have been a body of opinion among Bayle's admirers in favour of suppressing certain material which would clash with a somewhat idealized picture of Bayle which it was desired to hand down to posterity. They wished the portrait to be consistent. Des Maizeaux, on the other hand, was interested in fact, and seems rightly to have conceived his first duty as a biographer to be the presentation of the whole truth as far as the material would allow. In this Bayle himself would undoubtedly have concurred, and Des Maizeaux is to be respected for his realization that Bayle was too great a figure to need any retouching or suppressions.

If the Marchand affair shows Des Maizeaux at his worst, the Vie de Bayle makes honourable amends, and deserves modest mention in the history of biography. Compared with the English account of 1708, the 1730 version is, of course, a much more solid and well-documented work, though less readable than the superficial and racy pages of the former, which may perhaps owe their style to an unknown translator, although Des Maizeaux might have translated it himself. Some sections are substantially the same in both, but in the final version Des Maizeaux expanded greatly the treatment of Bayle's conversion and religious difficulties, probably on the basis of family letters which he had obtained through Karais or others. It is perhaps significant that the vicissitudes of twenty years should have had a noticeable

restraining influence, and that a certain tone of mockery and outspokenness should have been removed from the completed work. The early version has a distinct flavour of propaganda, in spirited attacks upon odium theologicum in general and Bayle's critics in particular, the tone of which is set by such affirmations as "Positiveness and Credulity are the Daughters of Ignorance". In short, the draft is an apologia, the completed work a sober history.

Having seen something of Des Maizeaux's general position as biographer and editor of Bayle, it is pertinent to enquire how he helped to make Bayle known in England. It is clear from what has been seen of his activities as a direct agent for Bayle himself, that he played an active part, in the material sense, as a Bayle intermediary. His admiration of Bayle's Dictionary, in particular, was so great, that, impressed by the lack of anything comparable in England, he soon conceived an ambition to follow in Bayle's footsteps himself. This now seems pathetic, although given the backing and the means, he might have achieved something, for although he could never be a second Bayle, he was not lacking in learning and intelligence, and his outlook was much the same. In a way, indeed, he did achieve something, for the Biographia Britannica can be traced back to the initiative of this French exile, by one

of the ironies of chance. Des Maizeaux's first idea seems to have been to combine English material with the Bayle supplement, as is shown by the letters of Leers ⁶⁶⁾. The dispute with Fritsch and Böhm, and Marchand finally disposed of this project as far as Des Maizeaux was concerned, and thereafter he seems to have contemplated a purely English work. In 1719 he got so far as to publish a specimen Historical and Critical Account of the life and writings of the ever-memorable John Hales, dedicated to Kasselesfield, and inviting others to collaborate or to take over the work entirely. In his dedication, he remarks somewhat naively:

"You perceive already, My Lord that I imitate the celebrated Mr. Bayle, who with great success made use of this method in his Dictionary. I could heartily wish that I had likewise the secret of borrowing from him the art of making pleasant the most difficult and barren subjects - - But as it is Nature alone that bestows those talents, and all our wishes can never obtain them. I have endeavoured to imitate some of his other qualities, particularly his Exactness and Impartiality." 67)

He also professes to reject Bayle's "immodesty" or scepticism, but there is reason to suspect that the latter would have been echoed in the projected work. Indeed, it is significant that the two published specimens should have dealt with two outstanding latitudinarians of the

66) MS. 4284/206. Leers to DM. JUN 7, 1707.

67) Preface, p. V.

17th century. The account of Hales of Eton is now virtually unreadable because of its form, imitated from Bayle, and consisting of a brief narrative for "easy" reading, accompanied by voluminous notes which contain the real marrow of the subject. The same drawback exists in the case of the second work, the Life of Chillingworth, which was gradually expanded until at the time of its publication in 1726, it was a fairly considerable work, second only to the Vie de Bayle. It was unfortunate that Des Maizeaux should have followed so closely the dictionary-technique of Bayle, for apart from the form, there is nothing wrong with his Chillingworth, which remains the standard source of information on that interesting figure of Civil War days, and embodies genuine and painstaking research. Its soundness is demonstrated by the fact that it was thought worth reprinting as late as 1863, recast in a more readable form.

The Earl of Oxford's note on Des Maizeaux and the free-thinkers, which is quoted by D'Israeli, observes that "his life of Chillingworth is wrote to please that set of men". He was certainly encouraged in the work by Collins, who like Locke was a warm admirer of a man who declared himself unequivocally against all forms of religious tyranny and based his faith on reason. The history of the publication of Chillingworth's writings shows a notable revival of public interest in him during the early years of the 18th

century, partly fostered by the deists, who, seeing in him the highest type of rationalizing divine, claimed him as a kindred spirit. Des Maizeaux's Life both expressed and encouraged this revival, and although it now seems painfully dull, has a clear place in the general pattern of his sympathies and interests. Its public appeal was naturally limited, but within those limitations, it was well received, and one admirer even paid Des Maizeaux the tribute of a handsome set of elegiacs in praise of his work !

"Historiam rerum fide mandare tabellis
Et clare, in laudem cedit utriusque tuam.
Wilhelmi Genius, scriptor Dignissime, Vitam
Tam bene dum recitas, incipit esse tuus" 68)

As a footnote to this notice of Des Maizeaux's interest in Chillingworth, it may be added that he also laboured to promote the publication of a French translation of Chillingworth by the refugee minister Perrain de Durette, which had lain in neglect for some years.⁶⁹⁾

Des Maizeaux's dream of becoming an English Bayle, of which his Pales and Chillingworth are the visible débris in print, gradually faded. Nevertheless, he had shown the way

68) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4457/108.

69) MS. 4283/188-9. Durette to DM. March 29, 1728;
MS. 4286/261 and 266. De la Motte to DM. 1724.

to English writers, and actually collaterated to some extent in the grinding labours of the group who brought to fruition the seed he had planted. These activities probably took up much time during his later years, and his presence is to be noted in the background of the massive General Dictionary, Historical and Critical, the publication of which took place from 1734 to 1741. Except that it is written in English, the General Dictionary approximates to Des Maizeaux's original idea of Bayle's work expanded by the addition of articles on English subjects. It is above all a monument to the industry of Dr. Birch, who transmitted Des Maizeaux's papers to the British Museum. Birch was a dull writer, but an invaluable assistant to historians of literature, and a man after Des Maizeaux's heart. Indeed, when Johnson said of him

"Tom Birch is as brisk as a bee in conversation, but no sooner does he take a pen in hand than it becomes a torpedo to him and benumbs all his faculties,"

the words might have been applied equally well to the Frenchman. Birch's principal collaborators were John Lockman, who translated the Lettres Philosophiques, and J. P. Bernard, son of Jacques Bernard of the République des Lettres, who had settled in England, and, like his father, combined the functions of journalist, clergyman, and miscellaneous writer. The position of Des Maizeaux with regard to this Triumvirate is somewhat obscure. The official agreement relating to the General Dictionary names only Birch, Lockman and

Bernard 70), so that Des Maizeaux is excluded from any formal association with them. On the other hand, he seems to have played a considerable part in the original promotion of the work, which, after all, was his own scheme made practicable by the organization of a syndicate of writers. Des Maizeaux, a considerably older man, acted as their adviser, and undoubtedly supplied material, as for example in the case of the account of Collins (for prudence probably led him to abandon the full-scale biography which he had planned). Other accounts written by him included those of Addison and his father, later published separately.

The extent of public support in England for this type of project is indicated by the fact that the General Dictionary encountered competition in the shape of a second edition of the English translation of the Bayle dictionary proper, which was accompanied by Des Maizeaux's biography, and certain pieces which he had acquired through the agency of Marais. If the extent of Des Maizeaux's connection with the first English edition of Bayle is questionable, it is certain that he revised and supervised the second - a necessary task in view of the deficiencies of the original translation. This edition, underwritten by some thirty booksellers including, of course, the younger Tonson, appeared in five volumes, one a year from 1734 to 1738.

70) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4254/116.

Among Birch's papers are fragments of an account, and lists of payments drawn up by Des Maizeaux, which state clearly :

"On ye 8th of July 1733 Begun the revising of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary "

and which include curious observations such as

"Nothing is charged here for the filling up of some Chasms, by passages procured from ye Bodleian Library."

It also appears that he undertook the re-translation of sections of the dictionary, and as far as they go, these accounts mention sums amounting to nearly £ 300, which to Des Maizeaux must have been wealth indeed, at that stage of his life ⁷¹⁾.

During these years, therefore, he was connected with both the translation and the imitation of Bayle's dictionary, and as might be expected, these dealings with rival undertakings led to trouble, probably because he took over the supervision of the translation in the hope of more immediate profit. A dispute developed with Birch and his associates which led to an announcement in the Daily Post in February 1734, in which Des Maizeaux disclaimed any collaboration with them. This was presumably done under pressure from the publishers of the translation, and was true only in so far as there was no actual written contract with Birch and his partners. In a draft of his reply, speaking of Des Maizeaux

71) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4256/35-6, 39-40.

and the first volume of the General Dictionary, Birch observes :

".. Mr. Des Maizeaux must be sensible that he was originally engag'd in forming the Plan of that Dictionary; that he revis'd several entire Numbers of it; communicated Additions and Observations in the Course of it; was present at almost every Meeting relating to it; and even within these three Weeks gave several Hints with regardx to the Preface of the First Volume, and never declar'd that he had left our Design . . . " 72)

If this does not add much to the knowledge of the affair, it at least throws some light on Des Maizeaux's part in the General Dictionary. In any case, the dispute must have been settled amicably, for he continued to advise Birch and his friends, while continuing his work on the translation. It is interesting to note the kind of subject on which he was regarded as an authority; a note from Bernard to Birch in 1735 runs :

"Pray be so kind to let me know what time the Supplement to Giordano Bruno will be wanted, because I must read it to Mr. Des Maizeaux before it goes to the Press." 73)

It is just just possible that Des Maizeaux also had a hand in the original Biographia Britannica; a letter to him in

72) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4224/248-9. A note from Bernard to Birch, of Feb. 19, 1734 reads: "Mr. Des Maizeaux having repeated his advertisement in the Daily Post of this day, I think it proper for us to repeat our answer also." Add. MS. 4301/12-13.

73) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4301/65.

1741 mentions a rumour to this effect ⁷⁴⁾, but there is no further evidence to substantiate it. As far as positive facts are concerned, the account of these prolonged and mole-like labours beneath the surface of the literary scene, must end with these two publications which carried on the work of Bayle in England into the 1730's. For French readers, Des Maizeaux's last identifiable work on the Bayle legacy took place almost concurrently with these English projects, in the shape of a revision of the Dictionary for the 1740 Amsterdam edition. There remains one other possible instance where Des Maizeaux may have helped to promote a similar publication, namely Chauffepié's Dictionary which, as a supplement to Bayle's work, was the true realization of Des Maizeaux's original proposals to Leers. Des Maizeaux himself did not live to see this work, which began to appear in 1750, but work on it had begun in 1739, as a joint undertaking between Chauffepié and one of the writers who had worked on the General Dictionary, which provided most of Chauffepié's English material ⁷⁵⁾. This may have been either Bernard or Des Maizeaux. There are hints of negotiations between Bernard and one of the publishers, Le Hondt, but Chauffepié complains in his preface of having been let down by his collaborator in England. That may well have been

74) MS. 4284/101. P. de Hondt to DL. Feb. 3, 1741.

75) Chauffepié: Nouv. Diet. Hist. et Crit., preface, p.VII.

Des Maizeaux capitulating at last to old age, and this possibility is strengthened by some of Des Maizeaux's manuscript articles in Birch's papers, which are written in French on English subjects. Moreover one rumour retailed by De la Motte does link Chauffepié and a so-called "Des Maizeaux supplement" 76). Since Chauffepié's publishers were for the most part those with whom Des Maizeaux had dealings in his last years, it is probable that Des Maizeaux was involved in the original undertaking. His abandonment of it may in fact account for Chauffepié's later hostility, for he accused both Bayle and Des Maizeaux of bad faith in their attitude to Jurieu. Be it that as it may, Chauffepié carried out the work for which Des Maizeaux had vainly sought backing forty years previously.

To return to Des Maizeaux's part in extending the Bayle influence in England, it should be observed that apart from his share in the material work, in this respect

76) M. 4287/125. De la Motte to DM. Nov. 23, 1737. This speaks of two supplements announced for translation from English 1) the "DM. Supplement" published by Changuion and to be enlarged by Chauffepié, and 2) one by Bernard, to be published by De Hondt. Since both De Hondt and Changuion (with whom DM. was closely connected) were among Chauffepié's publishers, it seems that these two projects were combined.

too his mere existence as a personal intermediary was undoubtedly a factor of some importance. But here again, it is hardly possible to prove his provable influence as a conversationalist among the literary gatherings of London. In this he must be considered less as an individual than as an acknowledged leader of the refugee men of letters. One sphere of influence of men like Des Maizeaux - and particularly La Croze and La Rocque, - was the English literary periodicals, and there the debt to Bayle is incalculable. The subject has been reviewed concisely by Dr. Courtines ⁷⁷⁾, but a detailed analysis would provide material for a lengthy treatise. There is no doubt that Des Maizeaux was in close contact with the English journalists, and must have been one important agent for the Bayle influence in that quarter.

But an obvious, and indeed the most important extension of the spirit of Bayle is in the works of the English deists. In view of what has been seen of Des Maizeaux's association with them, it is impossible to doubt that he was an intermediary of the highest importance. The case of Shaftesbury is a pointer, but the effect of Des Maizeaux's presence there is discounted by the fact that Shaftesbury knew Bayle better than Des Maizeaux himself; apart from that, Shaftesbury is relatively independent of the Bayle

77) Bayle's Relations with England and the English.

influence. But Collins is another matter entirely; it is in his works that the spirit of Bayle is linked once and for all with the main current of English deism. For England, the Discourse of Freethinking is the manifesto which marks this new stage in the development of rationalism. In the words of J. M. Robertson, it

"may be said to sum up and unify the drift not only of previous English freethinking, but of the great contribution of Bayle, whose learning and temper influence all English deism from Shaftesbury onwards."

78)

Although the evidence for Des Maizeaux's collaboration in the Discourse is less conclusive than that which puts his contribution to later works beyond doubt, his position is that of a kind of personal ambassador representing Bayle to Collins, for these two, of course, never met. It is no accident that Collins should be, of all the English deists, the one with the most clearly defined French background. Part at least of the explanation lies in his long intimacy with Des Maizeaux, and the grafting of Bayle's thought on to the main stem of the Lockean heritage in Collins may not unreasonably be attributed to the man who as Bayle's champion and editor, had probably the most exhaustive knowledge of his work then to be found in anyone.

Taken all in all, Des Maizeaux deserves to be remembered for his part in introducing Bayle into the intellectual life

78) A Short History of Freethought. 1915. Vol. II. p. 154.

of England, and for his work on Bayle's material legacy, as a fellow-Frenchman. The sincerity of his convictions and the hopes in which he undertook many inglorious and ill-rewarded labours are attested by the words of the dedication to Walpole, which he composed for the second English edition of the Dictionary.

" True and extensive knowledge never was, never can be, hurtful to the Peace of Society. It is Ignorance, or, which is worse than Ignorance, false Knowledge, that is chiefly terrible to States . . . It is from blind zeal and stupidity cleaving to Superstition, 't is from the Ignorance, Rashness and Rage attending Faction, that so many, so mad, and so sanguinary evils have afflicted and destroyed Men, dissolved the best Governments, and thinned the greatest Nations It will always be easy to raise a mist before eyes that are already dark."

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CHAPTER X.

THE JOURNALIST. III.

The somewhat arbitrary subdivision which is forced upon the consideration of Des Maizeaux's connection with the literary journals has so far revealed two phases, the first throwing some light on the pioneer stage of simple literary reporting from England, and the second showing a marked propaganda element. After 1720, the business of reporting England for the periodicals was so firmly established as to be mechanical; a permanent feature to be taken for granted, and probably handled by a number of hack journalist now unidentifiable. By this time, Des Maizeaux must have been recognised as the doyen and patron of this fraternity, and his direct participation had been reduced by his other literary interests and undertakings. There remains, however, a miscellaneous collection of French periodicals, his connection with which can be clearly established, and although this reporting now begins to lose its earlier intrinsic importance with the approach of the epoch-making visit of Voltaire, there are still occasional aspects of some interest, which show that the pioneer stage was not quite over. As the account of the second group of journals ended on a speculative note concerning Des

Maizeaux's possible connection with the Mercur Galant at the time of the curious affair of Addison's Cato, so does that of the third group open, with other elusive hints of the same contact, which may do something to strengthen the undeniably weaker side of Des Maizeaux's reporting - the "literary" and dramatic aspect.

The Mercur in its different forms stands apart from the general run of the periodicals, because of its popular appeal; as a miscellany addressed to a much wider public than the serious-minded minority which gave such commendable support to the literary and learned journals, the first channels for the English influence, it is a surer guide to the general advance of that influence. For this reason it was selected by Dr. Stella Lovering as the subject of a factual analysis which it is not proposed to duplicate here¹. One of the points emerging from this study by Dr. Lovering is the fact that, as might be expected, the Mercur was relatively slow to react to the English scene, apart from an interest in English politics. The parallel of the two Cato plays, whether by Des Maizeaux or not, was a spectacular flash in the pan, and except for some attention to Pope's Iliad, which may be worth noting in view of similar manifestations in Des Maizeaux's known field of activity, the Mercur relapsed into indifference towards England until 1722²). Then came

1) Lovering : L'Activité intellectuelle de l'Angleterre d'après l'ancien Mercur de France.

2) Ibid. pp. 16-17.

an event of real interest, marking a new development in French journalism. Somebody had the excellent and novel idea of preparing a series of articles on the English theatre for inclusion in the Mercur. Up to that time, the only notable reaction to the English stage in French journalism was the exceptional Dissertation by Van Effen, in the Journal Littéraire, which, as has been shown, seems to have sprung from the initiative of Des Maizeaux, but as far as can be established, this new departure in the Mercur is the first sign of the acceptance of English theatrical topics as part of the stock-in-trade of French journals ³⁾. It is the idea rather than the execution which is important; it preceded Voltaire by a decade and was even in advance of the publication of Muralt's Lettres, and whoever was responsible for it deserves real credit. As far as the present study is concerned, the question is, of course, - was Des Maizeaux concerned in it? And it is even more pertinent to ask whether, in the absence of documentary evidence, it is not a wild and unjustifiable straining of probabilities to suggest that he may have been.

It is true that in the case of the Mercur, there is no correspondence such as establishes Des Maizeaux's connection with other journals, and that the rumour, denied

3) Lovering : Ibid. p. 19. et seq. Dr. Lovering describes these articles in some detail.

by him, that he wrote the Cato parallel, is a shaky foundation for further conjecture. That, however, is not quite the only foundation; some references exist in letters of Du Sauzet of Nouvelles Littéraires which hint at, although they do not prove, this possible connection between Des Maizeaux and the Mercur. In January 1718 Des Maizeaux wrote to Du Sauzet in connection with material for the supplement to Nouvelles Littéraires, and suggested the new Mercur of Abbé Buhelle as a source ⁴⁾. In the following June Du Sauzet complained that it was expensive to obtain the Mercur, and said that he would let Des Maizeaux know if he required anything from Trévoux or from a miscellany published by Abbé Archimbaud ⁵⁾. In 1720 Du Sauzet acknowledged material from the Mercur sent across by Des Maizeaux ⁶⁾. It thus appears that Des Maizeaux was trafficking in copies of the Mercur, and this is a strong indication that he was in contact with its authors, as he certainly was with Trévoux, and, as appears from another letter, with Archimbaud, also mentioned by Du Sauzet. It is at least not unreasonable to accept this as showing that the tentacles of his mysterious dealings beneath the surface of journalism probably extended also to the Mercur. It is, however, in any

4) L. 4288/9. Du Sauzet to DM. Feb. 11. 1718.

5) MS. 4288/13. Du Sauzet to DM. June 10. 1718,

6) MS. 4288/46. Du Sauzet to DM. April 19, 1720.

case, the internal evidence of these articles which carries most weight.

The intention was presumably to give frequent reports, but this good undertaking broke down, so that there are in fact nine short articles or letters from 1722 to 1731, and one in 1735 which might also belong to the same series. There is no doubt that they do constitute a regular series, and are not isolated comments, although the first three are printed under the simple rubric Théâtre Anglois, and it is not until the fourth that one finds the fuller title Lettre écrite de Londres par un François au sujet du Théâtre Anglois. The introduction to this one, however, links it definitely with what has gone before, and there are no grounds for doubting that the whole set is made up of genuine letters from London, although that first one opens from the "editorial" angle. It points the contrast between the knowledge (and plagiarism) of French plays in London and the prevailing ignorance of the English theatre in France, observing

"Peut-être que des nouvelles du Théâtre Anglois ne
deplairont pas à nos lecteurs,"

and promising to give accounts of plays produced in England, both old and new. This first ten-page article ⁷⁾ begins on a familiar note, with a résumé of Collier's Dissuasive from the Playhouse, and remarks on the licentiousness of

7) Le Mercure, April 1722, pp. 120 - 130.

the English stage. The anonymous writer then discusses the playwrights in general - Shakespeare, who had "beaucoup de génie, peu d'art et fort peu de sçavoir", Ben Jonson, "plus régulier et plus sçavant que Shakespeare", Beaumont and Fletcher, Dryden, Steele, "Cyber", Tycherley and Shadwell. The remarks are, of course, only brief, but there is mention also of other forms of entertainment in England, such as Italian opera, with references to Händel, and principal actors and actresses of the day, including Cibber, Wills, Pinkethman, Booth, Mrs. Booth and "Olfield". There are, moreover, observations on the actual playhouses, the prices and the seating, a list of favourite authors, and a mention of the function of the Master of the Revels, which strikes a familiar note as one recalls the Killigrew episode in Des Maizeaux's younger days. It is at least clear that this report originated in London.

In June 1722, the second of these articles on the Théâtre Anglois ⁸⁾ discusses the two London theatres of Covent-Garden and Lincoln's Inn Fields, the Opera and its expenses, and the position of players with regard to the Lord Chamberlain. The writer is careful to name the Duke of Newcastle, to whom, it may be recalled, Des Maizeaux was paying court at about this time. He then goes off again into discussions of immorality, the treatment of the Clergy,

8) Le Mercure, June 1722, pp. 127-135.

the confusion of plots and failure to respect the unities.

The third contribution ⁹⁾ begins significantly :-

"Mr. de S. Evremond remarque au sujet de la Comédie Angloise qu'il n'y en a point que se conforme plus à celle des Anciens pour ce qui regarde les mœurs."

There are then further quotations from St. Evremond, Chappuzeau and, with acknowledgement, from the Van Effen Dissertation, before the writer goes on to discuss individual plays and authors, to give the French reader some idea of the subject. It is with some surprise that one notes that the first one mentioned is, of all things, Sir Politick Would-Be, by Buckingham, D'Aubigny and - St. Evremond; of this there is an authoritative observation that

"ce dernier donnoit la forme aux caractères dont chacun fournissoit une partie,"

and that it was written as an exercise in characterization, and not to be acted. This extraordinary first choice is followed by references to more representative works by Beaumont and Fletcher, Heywood, Lee, Shadwell, Otway, Etheredge, Wycherley, Farquhar and others.

The fourth letter ¹⁰⁾, the first to be headed from London, repeats the opening from St. Evremond, and is very similar to the previous article in references to blasphemy on the stage. Its more detailed notices include Buckingham's

9) Le Mercure, May 1723, pp. 970 - 980.

10) Ibid. Aug. 1723, pp. 360 - 369.

Rehearsal compared with Molière's Impromptu, and Steele, of whom it says

"On prétend qu'il a plus consulté le goût du parterre Anglois que les règles de la sagesse et de la Modestie."

Addison is then praised for his Cato, with a mention of Boyer's translation, and a familiar-sounding reference to the verse-translation by Du-Bourdieu which was never published. Cibber is praised, but there are criticisms of other plays for licentiousness, including Vanbrugh's Provoked Wife, a translation of which as La femme roussée à bout had been ascribed to St. Evremond.

The fifth and sixth letters ¹¹⁾ deal more generally with English habits of plagiarism and irregularity, and among the more prominent features are, once more, Cato, the Dubourdieu translation, and Dacier's judgment which provoked the Cato parallel. In June 1727 and January 1728 two more articles appear ¹²⁾, both devoted to Shakespeare, and in particular, to Richard III, Hamlet and Othello. There is then an interval until 1731, when a further letter appears in the June issue ¹³⁾ dealing chiefly with Jonson, Dryden and Addison. The last letter ¹⁴⁾, which stands apart, purports to be addressed to Dargenville, and consists of brief accounts accompanying

11) Le Mercure de France. Dec. 1724 pp. 2628-2637, and July 1725 pp. 1638-1646.

12) Ibid. June 1727, pp. 1445-1452, and Jan. 1728, pp. 148-154.

13) Ibid. June 1731, Vol. I. pp. 1350 - 1363.

14) Ibid. May 1735. pp. 836 - 846.

engravings of "Chaucher", Spenser, Jonson, Fletcher, Beaumont, Shakespeare, Milton, Cowley, Butler, Otway, Waller, and Dryden.

This brief indication of the subject-matter of this pioneer attempt at regular reporting of the English theatrical background is sufficient to show its importance in introducing English dramatists to the French reading public. It has been neglected because the articles are scattered through the pages of a journal, over a period of years, but collectively the series provides nearly 100 pages of material on the English theatre, almost all of it published before the Lettres Philosophiques. From the point of view of readers of the Mercur, this is publicity on a large scale, and has received due notice from Dr. Lovering. She has not, however, attempted to identify the author, nor does she discuss the sources, except in the case of the sixth letter, which is easily recognizable as a reproduction pure and simple of Muralt's second letter on the English. But enquiry into the sources of these articles reveals a most interesting and indeed extraordinary story, for although some of the material is first hand, a large proportion of it is a great patchwork of borrowings from various earlier accounts. One obvious line of enquiry, after Muralt, is the Van Effen Dissertation¹⁾ and as might be expected, whole sections of these letters are

15) Journal Littéraire, 1717. Vol. IX. Pt.1. Art. 10.
pp. 157-216.

taken from it, notably the seventh and eighth letters, on Shakespeare ¹⁶⁾. The same source is used for odd remarks and sentences in the third, fifth and ninth letters, but there is only one open acknowledgement. Muralt and the Dissertation are, of course, sources which any French journalist might easily fix upon, and indeed there is no doubt that Voltaire himself made use of them. A rather more interesting source of inspiration is Collier. It is clear that his Short View is at the back of the repeated discussion of the immorality of the English stage, but - and this is the interesting point - this material is not taken direct from Collier, nor even from the translation which had been available for several years; it is lifted bodily from the abstract of the Short View which appeared in Trévoux as early as April 1704 - some twenty years before these articles, and which has already been discussed as being possibly by Des Maizeaux. There is no doubt about this; whole paragraphs as well as odd sentences are reproduced from the Trévoux abstract, and can be traced in the second, third, fourth, seventh and ninth articles, with

16) of. Mercure June 1727, pp. 1446-8, and the Dissertation pp. 202-4; pp. 1450-2 and pp. 207-8.
Mercure, Jan. 1728 pp. 148-151 and the Dissertation pp. 204-206; pp. 151-4 and pp. 209-211.

only one acknowledgement to Collier 17).

But this is not all; the seventh article, one of those on Shakespeare which are derived from the Van Effen Dissertation, includes in its introductory paragraph the following sentences :

"Je ne vous parlerai aujourd'hui que du Poète Tragique et Comique Shakespear, mort en 1676 (sic) et concurrent de Ben Johnson, à qui il dispute le premier rang. La dernière édition de ses Oeuvres en 9 volumes in -8 est de 1710 à Londres." 18)

There is little doubt that this is a reminiscence of a sentence in a news-letter to Trévoux in April 1709, relating to Rowe's forthcoming edition of Shakespeare

"qui passe pour un des plus excellens Poètes comiques qu'eût produit l'Angleterre, et qui dispute le premier rang à Ben Johnson." 19)

In the same article, the writer says of Shakespeare :

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17) The Collier abstract is Trévoux, April 1704. Art. LVII.

The following pages may be compared :

Mercur. June 1722 p. 129, Trévoux p.638. 11 lines;

p. 130 and Trévoux pp. 638-640.

Mercur, May 1723. pp. 970-980. Trévoux, pp. 634-6.

Remarks on Beaumont and Fletcher.

Mercur, Aug. 1723. p. 368, Trévoux, pp.630-7. 14 lines on bl's, hemy in the theatre.

Mercur, de France, June 1727, p. 1449. Trévoux, p.634. Collier's comments on Shakespeare.

Mercur de France, June 1731 p. 1352. Trévoux, p.642. Collier's comments on Johnson.

18) Mercur de France, June 1727, p. 1445.

19) Trévoux, April 1709. London news p. 733 et seq.

"Il a eu autant de succès dans le Tragique que dans le Comique." 20)

In May 1718, the London nouvelliste for Trévoux - certainly Des Maizeaux - had written :

"Shakespear, qu'on a aussi réimprimé, a eu autant de succès dans le Tragique que dans le Comique." 21)

Then follows, in the Mercur article a mention of Rowe's edition in six volumes, and of a seventh volume published by a different bookseller (Curll, to be precise) which is almost identical with a notice both in Trévoux of August 1710, and the Journal des Savants of February 17, 1710.

So far, it is clear that the unknown writer knew his Trévoux very well indeed, but these borrowings do not conceal only Trévoux. A remark on Jonson in the ninth article, to the effect that "ses comédies sont admirables et surpassent de beaucoup ses Tragédies" 22) is a paraphrase of a note in Nouvelles Littéraires of December 4, 1717, which ends with the statement that

"Ses Tragédies n'égalent pourtant pas ses comédies :
Shakespear lui est beaucoup supérieur dans le Tragique"

This Shakespeare-Jonson comparison is in fact nothing but a formula, recurring several times in Des Maizeaux's newsletters, and its reappearance in these articles in the Mercur is highly significant.

20) Mercur de France, June 1727, p. 1449.

21) Trévoux, May 1718, p. 409.

22) Mercur de France, June 1731, p. 1350.

Now it is probable that any French journalist writing on the English dramatists during the 1720's would make use of Muralt and Van Effen's Dissertation; the use of a twenty-year old abstract of Collier is curious, but still reasonable. But that anyone not previously concerned should go hunting out odd sentences written in forgotten news-paragraphs of anything up to twenty years before, in more than one journal, is simply fantastic. There is only one reasonable explanation that all this re-hashing of the same material is the work of one man, who knew just where to lay hands on it because he had written it himself, or had written it so often that it was imprinted in his mind, to be reproduced mechanically. There is thus already a strong case for attributing these perfectly good, if partly second-hand, articles to Des Maizeaux, and this is strengthened by such things as the ~~beginning of the~~ ~~constant~~ constant references to St. Evremond, particularly when it is recalled that at the beginning of the period covered by these articles, Des Maizeaux was actually preparing the 1726 Amsterdam edition of St. Evremond. There are other noteworthy aspects too; the criticism of Vanbrugh's Provoked Wife is echoed in a letter from Des Maizeaux to De la Motte in 1725 ²³⁾; the Cato affair reappears, with the same discussion of Dacier and an actual quotation from Des Maizeaux's own news-letter on the subject in the Histoire

23) MS. 4289/181. Draft. DM. to De la Motte. July 6, 1725.

Critique ²⁴⁾; occasional bibliographical data occur which are highly characteristic of Des Maizeaux. And then, in the ninth letter, published in June 1731, there is a reference to "Joseph Addison, Poète Anglois, fils de Lancelot Addison, né en 1671, mort en 1729" (sic), followed by a list of his works. Who would concern himself with such details except Des Maizeaux, who must even then have been preparing his account of the two Addisons published by Nicolas Prévost? His manuscripts exist in the British Museum to show his preoccupation with the subject ²⁵⁾.

In short, the mass of internal evidence gives overwhelming support to the belief that Des Maizeaux is the author of these articles; short of actual documentary proof, nothing more conclusive could be imagined, particularly as they are certainly the work of a Frenchman living permanently in London. The authorship of these articles is not a trifling matter, for they are undoubtedly the outstanding attempt to publicize the English dramatic background between the Van Effen Dissertation and the Lettres Philosophiques. Although they do not give much detail, except what corresponds to that of the Dissertation, they contain about five times as much material on the subject as the Lettres Philosophiques and have in fact been included among possible sources for

24) Mercur de France. Dec. 1724, p. 2635. Hist. Crit Vol. V. p. 381.
25) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4221/ 1 - 16.

that work, by Lanson, who, curiously enough, seems not to have realised that the Shakespeare material in them is mostly reproduced from Van Effen. Thus once more a suspicion begins to form as to the part which Des Maizeaux may have played in the background of the Lettres Philosophiques. In this connection, there is one particular curiosity to note in the Mercury articles. In the ninth letter, of June 1731, speaking of "Benjamin Johnson concurrent de Shakespeare" (as usual) the writer says :

"Cet auteur fameux, qu'appelloit ici le Corneille
d'Angleterre - - - " . 26)

There is a familiar ring about this cliché which is explained when one examines the opening sentences of Voltaire's 18th letter sur la Tragédie. Only this time it is "Shakespear qui passoit pour le Corneille des Anglois". But there is an earlier appearance of this formula, namely :

"Gasper è il Cornelio degl'Inglesi, ma molto più
irregolare del Cornelio".

This is in the prefatory letter to Il Cesare in 1726, by no other person than Conti, another of Des Maizeaux's associates. This seems to be the only textual parallel to be found in Voltaire and Conti, and is duly noted by Lanson who adds :

"Mais rien ne prouve que Conti et Voltaire ne
répètent pas tous les deux une formule courante
en Angleterre." 27)

26) Mercury de France, June 1731, p. 1350.

27) Voltaire : Lettres Philosophiques, ed. Lanson. Vol. II, p.79, and p. 90 note 4.

If so, it was probably current in the Des Maizeaux circle.

It is this sort of coincidence, and, more important, the obvious relation of Voltaire's material to that of Van Effen, to say nothing of echoes of Des Maizeaux's own newsletters which have already been noted, which inclines one to wonder whether Des Maizeaux, as the resident expert, the seasoned reporter and the acknowledged "courtier des savants" really may not have been an important intermediary for the impressions of English literature carried away by these men. He was certainly a common factor in their English experiences and there is quite a strong theoretical case to be made for considering him as a direct common source for some of their information. Whether there are grounds for this belief or not - and it can never be proved - the articles on the English theatre in the Mercure must almost certainly be accepted as Des Maizeaux's own contribution to the important task of publicizing this particular aspect of the English background. They may not be models of originality (except that in borrowing from Van Effen he may have been using material originally suggested by himself) but they are none the less effective journalism for their own purpose, and do mark a step forward in the awareness of the English literary scene shown by a most important French journal. Apart from these exceptional articles, the Mercure offers no further evidence for a sustained contact with Des Maizeaux, and references to

current publications in England are too scattered to suggest a regular correspondence, although such a thing is, of course, not impossible.

The next step in tracing Des Maizeaux's journalistic activity leads back to more familiar material and to a short-lived journal entitled L'Histoire Littéraire de l'Europe. This periodical, now very rare, appeared monthly at The Hague during the years 1726 and 1727, and was published by Michel Guyot de Merville, already encountered in connection with the Voltaire - St. Hyacinthe dispute. Merville had set up as a bookseller after having several plays rejected by the Comédie Française, and his journal was abandoned after two years because it interfered with his regular publishing business - a difficulty also encountered by Du Sauzet, with his Nouvelles Littéraires. The available documentary evidence of Des Maizeaux's activity as Merville's London correspondent dates only from February 1727, but refers to Des Maizeaux continuing his services ²⁸⁾. It is clear from this and the internal evidence of Merville's London news, that the association dated from 1726, probably soon after the journal was founded. In addition to supplying the literary news, Des Maizeaux was also Merville's agent in dealings with

287 M3. 4285/224. Merville to DM. Feb. 11. 1727.
Merville's letters are M3. 4285/224 - 240.

English booksellers, and, as usual, arranged the supply of English books for the preparation of abstracts. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that Merville was drawn into the affairs concerning St. Hyacinthe, Voltaire and the Codere-Prévost Henriade, when he visited London in 1727.

There is nothing of great intrinsic interest in the London nouvelles of this journal, which, as usual, were made a confidential matter by Des Maizeaux. They amount to little more than a list, except for a word of praise for his own Chillingworth, and some attention to Toland on the occasion of Des Maizeaux's publication of the posthumous works. There is, however, an occasional hint of characteristic irony, as in the mention of an edition of Lesley's Short and Easy Method with the Deists.

"Il faut vous dire que ce Livre a converti un Déiste; ce qui a donné occasion à l'Auteur d'écrire à son prosélyte une Lettre, qu'on a insérée dans ce recueil."
29)

If the Histoire Littéraire reveals no new element in Des Maizeaux's news-service, it has some value as a standard of comparison for other journals, and it is interesting to note that exactly the same relationship exists between the London news of Trévoux and Merville's journal, as between Trévoux and the République des Lettres and less durable periodicals

29) Hist. Litt. Dec. 1726, p. 541 etc.

of earlier years. It is impossible to say whether this implies simple plagiarism, or whether the Jesuits were still receiving their reports direct from Des Maizeaux, but there is a good example in the comparison of the London news in the Histoire Littéraire of August 1726 and Trévoux of January 1727, which is partly identical, and partly paraphrased in the following fashion.

"Les deux derniers volumes de l'Odyssée d'Homère, traduit par l'illustre Mr. Pope paroissent depuis peu. Il paroît aussi chez H. Curll un recueil curieux de Lettres, de vers et d'autres Pièces mêlées dont on attribue la plupart à Mrs. Pope and Swift, deux des plus beaux esprits de l'Angleterre."

In Trévoux, this appears, neatly reversed, as : -

"Les deux derniers volumes de l'Odyssée d'Homère, traduits par Monsieur Pope. On attribue part à cet illustre et ingénieux Auteur, partie à Mr. ⁽¹⁾ Swift, qui se distingue aussi entre les beaux Esprits, le plus grand nombre des Lettres, Poésies et Pièces Mêlées, dont on a composé un Recueil qui se vend chez H. Curll."

From constant parallels such as this, it certainly seems that Des Maizeaux was still distributing reports on a wholesale scale, and indeed, the same kind of block-reproduction is to be found also in the Journal des Savants at this period.

Another ephemeral publication of this later period known to have received the encouragement and collaboration of Des Maizeaux, is the Critique désintéressée des Journaux Littéraires of François Bruys, of which only three quarterly volumes appeared in 1730. Bruys is a typical example of a

young and restless spirit trying unsuccessfully to make a career in literature, and handicapped partly by religious difficulties. Educated by Catholics, he turned later to protestantism, and it is by now not surprising to find that after a visit to London, where he met Des Maizeaux, Bruys also admitted his deist leanings ³⁰⁾, although he later returned to Catholicism, probably as the means of returning to France, where he died at an early age. Bruys' Critique Désintéressée is one of two journals - the other being the Bibliothèque Raisonnée - which published almost identical obituary accounts of Anthony Collins, clearly written by Des Maizeaux, who observes that

"Les Gens de Lettres y font une très-grande perte, et moi en particulier, j'y perds infiniment".

His judgment of the character of his old friend and benefactor is that

"Il étoit civil, affable et d'une humeur gaye, mais trop attaché à la méditation et à l'étude" ³¹⁾

which is perhaps a little surprising; from such a bookworm as Des Maizeaux himself.

The association with Bruys began in an inauspicious manner, because the young journalist had been drawn in to

30) MS. 4281/360-1. Bruys to DM. July 18, 1733.

31) Critique Désintéressée. Vol. I. p. 243. Bibliothèque Raisonnée. Vol. IV. Pt. 1. p. 234-5.

support the resuscitated Journal Littéraire, and to praise its authors, including Marchand, at the expense of the rival Bibliothèque Raisonnée with which Des Maizeaux was closely connected. Although this partiality was displayed over several issues, Des Maizeaux himself was particularly concerned by Bruys' aggressive support of Marchand in the famous dispute which Des Maizeaux had just stirred up again with his edition of Bayle's letters ³²⁾. Thus the writers of the Bibliothèque Raisonnée as a whole had cause to disapprove of Bruys, and it fell to Des Maizeaux to take the young man to task during his visit to London in 1730. A draft letter to one of his offended colleagues reveals the essential kindness of Des Maizeaux's character, and confirms the impression that in his embittered pursuit of Marchand, he was actuated by a real sense of gratuitous injury. Telling of his encounter with Bruys at the house or shop of the bookseller Dunoyer, Des Maizeaux writes :

"Il crût sans doute, que je lui reprocherois de m'avoir fait entrer dans son 3e tometrès malhonnêtement; mais il a été bien surpris lorsqu'il a trouvé que je cherchois à l'exuser, et que je le plaignois de s'être prêté sans connoissance de cause à l'effronterie d'un homme dont il ne se défioit point. En un mot, nous vivons en bonne intelligence et nous voyons assez souvent."

Des Maizeaux was a little stricter on his colleagues' account,

32) Critique Désintéressée, Vol. III. p. 43-4.

with the result that Bruys expressed contrition.

"Je vous avoue, Monsieur, que son sort m'a touché; et comme je sai que vous êtes bon, généreux et compatissant, j'ai lieu de croire que quand il vous aura lui-même déclaré son sentiment, vous voudrez bien avoir égard à son état, lui rendre vos bons offices, et faire en sorte qu'on ait pour lui les ménagemens qui sont dûs à un homme qui reconnoît sa faute sincèrement et de bonne foi." 33)

It is refreshing to find this evidence of forbearance even amid the din and smithery of the Marchand conflict, and the effect of this encounter of Bruys and Des Maizeaux indicates that the older man had no small degree of tact and personal charm.

These minor and short-lived journals of Merville and Bruys were merely episodes in the long record of Des Maizeaux' laborious and anonymous collaboration in the continental periodicals; there may have been others of a similar kind, including the revived Journal Littéraire, at least until it published Marchand's reply to Des Maizeaux, and possibly after. The second series of this work resembles the first in that it prints a genuine service of news-letters from England which has no documentary link with Des Maizeaux, but which contains certain mannerisms, and that occasional irony which gives individuality to what would otherwise be a catalogue. There are signs of interest in Berkely and Chubb, and scattered comments on the later stages of the deistic controversy read

33) MS. 42P9/239-240, 241-42. Two drafts. DA. to - ?
Nov. 2, 1730.

suspiciously like the work of Des Maizeaux, as for example when the nouvelliste observes with mocking satisfaction that Conyers Middleton, in spite of open deist leanings, has retained his post as Cambridge librarian - O Tempora ! ³⁴⁾ Internal evidence offers some grounds for including the new Journal Littéraire tentatively among the periodicals on Des Maizeaux's "mailing-list", but there is no positive proof. It is certain, however, that Des Maizeaux was in contact with the publishers, Gosse and Neaulme, at precisely the period of its revival, in 1728-9, and seems to have met Gosse in London during 1728 ³⁵⁾. Although the only existing letter between them refers to an edition of Boileau with which Des Maizeaux was concerned ³⁶⁾, it is evidence of a connection which strengthens the case for ascribing to him the London news of the second Journal Littéraire.

The revival of the Journal Littéraire, which lasted for some five years, coincided with the beginnings of the Bibliothèque Raisonnée des Ouvrages des Savans de l'Europe, which was destined to an honourable career of 25 years. This time, there is no doubt whatever that Des Maizeaux was its

34) J-L Vol. XIX. Pt.2. p. 479 et seq.

35) MS. 4287/30. De la Motte to DM. Oct. 26, 1728.

36) MS. 4284/49-50. Gosse and Neaulme to DM. Dec. 24, 1727.

London nouvelliste for about seventeen years. This Journal was the venture of the famous publishing house of Wetstein, of Amsterdam, and the special province of one of their partners, an Irishman named Smith, who married into the Wetstein family in 1724. Des Maizeaux had many dealings with the Wetsteins, chiefly in connection with Bayle's Dictionary, of which they were the principal backers in 1730 and 1740, and the Vie de Bayle, and he found Smith a useful ally in many financial disputes with the other partners. The Bibliothèque Raisonnée was launched in the summer of 1728, and in the October, De la Motte, acting for the Wetsteins, wrote to enlist the services of Des Maizeaux and St. Hyacinthe for the new undertaking ³⁷⁾. Although already working on various other editions, the industrious refugee agreed to provide a quarterly article of nouvelles littéraires, which duly appeared from the second issue inward, with very few interruptions. Although the Wetsteins naturally had their own business contacts with the London booksellers, there is no doubt that Des Maizeaux rendered valuable service as a general agent for the periodical which did not specialize in English material, but lived up to its title, as an international miscellany, publishing chiefly abstracts, but occasionally more original pieces. It was also used for

37) M^o. 4287/33. De la Motte to Des. Oct. 8, 1728.

Des Maizeaux's nefarious purposes concerning Marchand; thus what is published as a simple abstract of the 1729 edition of Bayle's letters is in reality another attack on Marchand.³⁸⁾ The Bibliothèque Raisonnée did not set a very high standard for impartiality, and it is scarcely surprising that it should have attracted the critical attention of Eruss. There are, however, some good points about Des Maizeaux's connection with this journal, notably the publication of a letter from him containing a Justification de Mr. Arnauld d'Andilly contre les accusations d'un prétendu favori de S.A.R. Gaston, Duc D'Orleans.³⁹⁾ This was written by Bougerel of the Oratory to refute certain insinuations about Arnauld which Des Maizeaux had resurrected and published long before in the République des Lettres⁴⁰⁾, and had repeated in notes to Bayle's letters. Although the matter was of no great importance, it speaks well for Des Maizeaux that he should make public a private refutation of his own view, and admit his error. Even Marais declared to Bouhier that

"M. Des Maizeaux a fait là une belle action de donner au public ce qui étoit contre lui" 41)

38) Bibl. Rais. Vol. V. Pt.2. Art. 12.

39) Ibid. Art. 9, and Vol. VI. Pt.1. Art. 3.

40) N.R.L. April 1704. pp. 469 - 479.

41) Marais, Journal et Mémoires, ed. Leseure. Vol. IV. p. 269. Marais to Bouhier, Aug. 15, 1731.

and Bougerel himself thereafter claimed Des Maizeaux as a friend ⁴²⁾.

Other similar oddments reveal the presence of Des Maizeaux in the background of this journal, such as letters on antiquarian subjects by Jean Masson and Bouhier, between whom Des Maizeaux acted as intermediary ⁴³⁾, and a letter concerning Servetus, which has already been mentioned ⁴⁴⁾. The collaboration of Des Maizeaux and the editorial work of Smith were between them enough to ensure that England received more than its share of attention, and this orientation was further emphasized by the fact that La Chapelle, formerly of the Bibliothèque Angloise, handled the theological side. Moreover, Des Maizeaux's news-letters were manifestly superior to the others printed in the journal, and he can be said to have earned the pittance he received for them. It is a noteworthy fact that among all Des Maizeaux's connections with the journals and their publishers, only the case of

42) Ms. 4281/293-4. Bougerel to Dm. March 28, 1731. With reference to this episode Jordan remarks "Ce Père se loue extrêmement de la Conduite de Mr. Des Maizeaux, qui s'est si généreusement retracté...." Voyage Littéraire, p. 120.

43) Bibl. Rais. Vol. XIII. It.1, Art.5. Vol. XVIII. Ft.2. p. 475. Letters concerning Roman medals. There is a copy of Masson's observations in Dm's handwriting in the Bibl. Nationale. F-FR. 24 470/37-53.

44) Bibl. Rais. Vol. III Ft.1. p. 172.

the Bibliothèque Raisonnée provides evidence of payment, or of being on a purely commercial basis ⁴⁵⁾. Sometimes his services were repaid indirectly, as, for example, when Du Sauzet published the collection of philosophical pieces; sometimes he received gifts of books, or a certain amount of publicity, but he seems never to have received any money in connection with his news-service, until his last years, when the outlook was becoming less rosy.

These news-articles for the Bibliothèque Raisonnée are the most constant feature of Des Maizeaux's last period as a journalist, and it is hardly to be expected that they would show any new development. They are on the whole

objective accounts of contemporary publications, but although they are in no sense pioneer work, there are some interesting things among them, odd notes and small-scale reviews which provide for the French reader a useful introduction and background to the abstracts themselves, some of which may, incidentally, have been furnished by Des Maizeaux. If, for example, one seeks his opinion of the Lettres Philosophiques which, in effect, superseded in a moment the long and patient labours of Des Maizeaux and his kind, it is to be found in these pages, with a list of the subjects treated by Voltaire. The patronizing tone is diverting :

45) Letters of Smith. MS. 4288.

"Voilà une grande Variété; il n'y a pas d'apparence que personne s'avise de prendre au pié de la lettre tout ce qu'on y débite; il y a du vrai et du faux; du bon et du mauvais, des ^{airs} de savoir et des ignorances grossières. Avec tout cela il ne faut pas douter que ces Lettres ne soient aussi bien reçues que les autres Ecrits de M. de Voltaire." 46)

At this late stage of Des Maizeaux's work as a literary reporter it is superfluous to go into details of his observations. They include, however, frequent notes on the later stages of the deistic controversy, in which the names of Toland and Collins give place to those of Tindal, Woolston Middleton and their followers and opponents. Tindal's Christianity Old as the Creation, the last great storm-centre is naturally the subject of an abstract in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée, and the resulting controversy is described faithfully in the unobtrusive pages of Des Maizeaux's reports. But with the disappearance of Toland and Collins, there is an appreciable increase in Des Maizeaux's detachment. Prudence is doubtless responsible in part, although his sympathies are clearly unchanged, and he is always on the look-out for minor works in the Tindal manner, which sometime receive disproportionate attention. Thus a sermon by William Rowan on the traditions of the clergy as a danger to the Church, is made the subject of a four-page account⁴⁷⁾.

46) Bibl. Rais. Vol. XI. Pt.1. p. 236.

47) Ibid. Vol. VII. Pt.2. p. 473.

The abstract-writers themselves had necessarily to concentrate on the leading works, and without these informative articles by Des Maizeaux, the French reader would have had a very disconnected idea of the contemporary trends and events in English letters. Des Maizeaux's interest is not, of course, confined to the deists, although he devotes much space to them, and has always a good word for writers such as Chubb ⁴⁸⁾. On the other hand Berkeley comes in for considerable notice, in connection with such works as The Analyst ⁴⁹⁾, and a familiar note reappears when Des Maizeaux records the publication of another rationalizing work by Hoadly - the unacknowledged Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, of which Des Maizeaux may himself have prepared an abstract. Naturally he followed his earlier estimate of Hoadly by approving this treatise, which in effect reduces the Eucharist to a mere commemorative rite, but a little later Des Maizeaux let his zeal outrun his discretion by putting the famous Bishop of Winchester on the same level as the anonymous author of a cruder freethinking work, a Letter to a Member of Parliament proposing a bill to annul certain obsolete laws

48) Bibl. Rais. Vol. IV. Pt. 1. p. 227 et seq.

49) Ibid. Vol. XII. Pt. 2. p. 474 et seq.

commonly called the Ten Commandments ! Des Maizeaux's remarks may have been true, but were certainly tactless, and were only printed because Smith was away when the journal went to press. The latter, who was himself in orders, promptly raised a wail of protest, having been severely censured as the publisher of the offending passage.

"Vous avez ei-devant parlé avec éloge de l'Evêque^{de Winchester} et du livre que tout-le-monde lui attribue, je parle de son Exposition claire et simple de l'Eucharistie; il y a aussi un Extrait très louangeur de ce livre dans la Bibliothèque Raisonnée, mais comment concilier tout cela avec les efforts que vous faites pour le faire passer pour un de ces Libertins qui travaillent à débarrasser la Religion de tout ce qu'il y est d'incommode, car vous dites que l'Auteur d'une Lettre à un membre du Parlement paroit avoir eu une Vue semblable à celle qu'avoit eu l'Auteur de l'Exposition de l'Eucharistie".

How dared Des Maizeaux classify the worthy Bishop with déiste and libertins ? Smith demanded immediate reparation "par l'amour de la vérité.... et par la Réputation de notre Journal flêtrie par cet Article " (50)

Fortunately for Des Maizeaux, this squall soon blew over but in retrospect, it seems incredible that the public, which would swallow any amount of rationalizing from a bishop, should have shied away from such a parallel, which, after all contained nothing but an honest recognition of the truth. This sensitiveness, and the influence of the Clergy, whether Catholic or Protestant, in journalistic circles, explains why

the propaganda-element in Des Maizeaux's letters is not more positive, - but it also indicates that his technique was probably more important than it looks, in propagating the rationalist point of view. The mere objective reporting of trends and controversies gained valuable ground for the free-thinkers, but it was only rarely that Des Maizeaux went beyond the lightest irony, to reveal his own sympathies. He was careful to avoid any further provocative remarks in his contributions to the Bibliothèque Raisonnée, and his association with it proceeded smoothly until his retirement from the scene, except for one period of crisis. This occurred in 1741, when civil war broke out between Wetstein and his brother-in-law Smith, who was supported by some of the collaborators in the journal, especially Jean Barbeyrac, who fell foul of Wetstein over the question of a copyright. There had been talk of reorganizing the business in 1740, and subsequent disputes decided Smith to try to buy for himself the whole interest in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée. Wetstein forced up the price and in disgust Smith resolved to begin a completely new periodical. In this he gained the support of Barbeyrac, La Chapelle, De la Motte and Des Maizeaux, and by September 1741 the project had reached the stage of discussions of titles. During the November, however, Smith died suddenly, and the whole scheme collapsed. Barbeyrac and La Chapelle transferred their services elsewhere, but Des Maizeaux finally came to terms with one of the younger Wetsteins, and continued

to contribute to the Bibliothèque Raisonnée.⁵¹⁾

Wetstein's journal is one of two with which Des Maizeaux's name has been most commonly associated; the other is the Bibliothèque Britannique published at The Hague from 1733 to 1747 by Pierre de Hondt. This is a somewhat dull work, consisting of the usual abstracts and nouvelles littéraires from England, but it is important as the successor to the Bibliothèque Angloise in specializing in English works. By this time, one might almost automatically name Des Maizeaux as its London nouvelliste, but curiously enough, this is a case where caution is necessary; he was certainly one of its "editors", but the connection seems to have been much less formed than that with the Bibliothèque Raisonnée. It began early in 1733, when Bruzen La Martinière, the geographer and another of those visitors to England whose entry into the Royal Society was sponsored by Des Maizeaux, wrote to seek the latter's collaboration in the new journal for English literature, for which La Martinière himself had undertaken to

51) Bibl. du Protestantisme Français. MS. 295, No's 60, 61.
La Chapelle to De la Motte. Brit. Mus. MS. 4288/162.
A. G. Wetstein-Smith to DM. Nov. 17, 1741. 4293/256 etc.
Jacques Wetstein to DM. 1741.

organize the information-service 52). Des Maizeaux undoubtedly helped to establish the new periodical, and probably organized its English contacts. Unlike the Bibliothèque Angloise, it was not primarily the work of one man, but was produced by a group of the exiles in England. Des Maizeaux may have written a few abstracts, but he was not the regular nouvelliste throughout the series. Comparison of the nouvelles littéraires of the Bibliothèque Britannique and the Bibliothèque Raisonnée reveals certain similarities which suggest a common source, such as a short account of the life and works of Tindal 53), or observations on the new idea of selling large-scale works on the instalment plan in coffee-houses and inns 54). On the other hand, there are differences in detail, as for example, in the translations of titles, which seem to indicate a different hand. In any case, there exists a letter from Des Maizeaux to De la Motte which gives valuable information about the group responsible for the journal in 1736.

"Je ne vois pas qu'il y ait aucun inconvénient à dire à Mr. Meusclere le nom des Auteurs de la Bibliothèque Britannique; voici ceux qui y travaillent à présent.

52) MS. 4285/191-2. La Martinière to DM. Jan. 23, 1733.

53) Bibl. Rais. Vol. XII. Pt. 1. p. 232; Bibl. Brit. Vol. IX Pt. 1. London News.

54) Bibl. Rais. Vol. IX. Pt.2. p. 479 etc.; Bibl. Brit. Vol. I Pt.2. p. 480.

Messieurs Stéhelin, Le Moine, Cantier, Bernard, Beaufort, De Missy, tous Ministres, et Mr. Du Val, Midecin. La principale part que j'y ai, c'est d'assister à leurs Assemblées, et de faire quelques remarques sur les Extraits qu'on lit." 55)

Thus it appears that after helping to launch the journal, Des Maizeaux had become a kind of chairman and general adviser to this gathering of younger men who were carrying on the work which he had done so much to encourage. He should not, however, be considered as a mere spectator in the affairs of the Bibliothèque Britannique. He probably played a leading part in organizing the band of writers in the beginning, and sometimes acted as their spokesman in dealings with the publisher, for the journal had a chequered career, and survived with difficulty a number of bad times.

The material difficulties encountered by these journalists were considerable; to inadequate knowledge of English on the part of the printers was added the high cost of books, which had to be bought for the preparation of abstracts. This also accounts for the fact that some of the outstanding English publications were never reviewed in detail; the journalists could not afford to buy them, and the publisher was unwilling to do so, although under pressure from Des Maizeaux he tried to organize a system of loans and exchanges among the booksellers, from which they might all have profited

55) Bibl. du Protestantisme Français. MS. 295. No. 39.
M. to De la Motte. Sept. 24, 1736.

if they had had the foresight to exploit this opportunity for publicity ⁵⁶⁾. Moreover, the lack of proper liaison between De Hondt in Holland and his "Société Britannique" in England led to delays and last-minute appeals for "copy" from the writers who, like Des Maizeaux, had other demands upon their time. The result of all this was a dull mediocrity which the public was unwilling to encourage. At one point, De Hondt reported to Des Maizeaux that

"On trouve que parmi bien de bonne choses il y entre beaucoup de médiocres et peu intéressantes." ⁵⁷⁾

and observed that in the whole of Paris he could barely dispose of ten copies. The publicizing of English literature was still uphill work, even in 1736, and one reason for it was that all this labour was not really concerned with what would now be thought of as English literature proper, which these servious-minded clergymen seemed incapable of appreciating. Des Maizeaux probably had the best all-round intelligence among them, but he too was preoccupied with the scientific, philosophical and religious thought of the day. One of the abstracts contributed by him was of a catalogue of manuscripts in the King's Library, useful enough for the learned and the "curious", but hardly calculated to appeal to the general public. In the circumstances, the

56) MS. 4284/94 and 98. De Hondt to DL. Oct. 18, 1735;
MS. 4284/95-7, draft reply. Oct. 30, 1735.

57) MS. 4284/99-100. De Hondt to DL. May 29, 1736.

miracle is that the journal survived at all, and credit is due to De Hondt, who lost money on it and was gradually deserted by his writers, until finally most of the work was written in Holland. In the summer of 1740 De Hondt visited London ⁵⁸⁾ and had some frank exchanges with "Messieurs nos Auteurs", which brought promises and little more, so that in 1742 he was appealing once more for Des Maizeaux's help with "mon Journal agonisant" ⁵⁹⁾. The spirit was willing, but by this time Des Maizeaux was nearly seventy, and a sick man, and after a last effort he too seems to have dropped out of the ranks of the Bibliothèque Britannique, which, however, still managed to struggle on for a little longer. It was not a brilliant success, but on the other hand it cannot be accounted a failure, since it performed its necessary and useful function as the special representative of the English background in French journalism for well over a decade.

This was the last of the French periodicals published in Holland with which Des Maizeaux was connected, but during this last phase of his career as a journalist, there are indications of contacts with other periodicals of a different type - those of ^{the} Desfontaines-Granet group in France. In 1729 Chaubert, a Paris bookseller and publisher of the Nouvelliste du Parnasse, was put in touch with Des Maizeaux through Guyot de Merville, and made some use of him, realizing that he was, as he put it

⁵⁸⁾ MS. 4285/252. Le Moine to DM. Dec. 4, 1740. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4301/85 and 151. Letters of Bernard and De Hondt to Birch. Aug. 1740.

"un sçavant qui par sa résidence actuelle en Angleterre se trouve en état de me donner les premiers avis des bons livres qui s'y impriment" . 60)

Chaubert was interested in translations, but the Nouvelles du Farnesse was also involved; only one letter exists from Desfontaines to Des Maizeaux ⁶¹⁾, and the contact does not appear to have been very fruitful. It reappeared, however, in 1740, in connection with Granet's Observations sur les Ecrits Modernes, and Des Maizeaux brought a few books to the notice of Granet, including Addison's Discourse on Ancient and Modern Learning ⁶²⁾. Although this contact came too late in Des Maizeaux's life to lead to anything, it is interesting as yet another indication that anyone in French journalistic circles seeking a contact in England, was certain to find his way to Des Maizeaux sooner or later.

59) (from p.431)

MS. 4284/102-3. De Hondt to IM. March 9. 1742.

60) MS. 4282/87-8. Chaubert to IM. Sept. 17, 1729.

61) MS. 4283/216-7. Nov. 17, 1734.

62) MS. 4282/93, 95. Chaubert to IM. Dec. 31, 1740.
March 24, 1741.

From the necessarily brief survey of Des Maizeaux's relations with the French journalists of both Holland and France, it is clear that he was for forty years a leading intermediary for the English influence in that sphere. The account of his career as a journalist would, however, be incomplete without some mention of his possible relations with the equivalent English literary journals. Unfortunately there is scarcely any positive evidence on this point, and certainly not sufficient to warrant the assumption that he collaborated actively or regularly in them. But he was undoubtedly in close contact with English journalistic circles, and it is acknowledged that the English periodicals owed much to the presence of the refugees as a group. It was Motteux, for example, who established the Mercur type of journal in England with his Gentleman's Journal, but the pioneer of the learned abstract-periodical in England was De la Crosse, who, after collaborating with Basnage, produced a series of English works from 1691 onwards. These were the History of Learning, the Works of the Learned, Memoirs for the Ingenious and finally the History of the Works of the Learned, which ran from 1693 to 1711, roughly the same period as that of Bernard's République des Lettres. Although there is no documentary link between La Crosse and Des Maizeaux, there is no doubt that the latter used the English journal as a source for his literary news. It purported to

be the work of "several hands", but Prof. Graham believes La Crose to have played the chief part in it ⁶³⁾, although the Bodleian catalogue ascribes it to Samuel Parker on the authority of Rawlinson. It is possible that Des Maizeaux was one of the "several hands" and this impression is strengthened by the appearance in the English journal of material such as Britton's anti-Cartesian argument, which comes into Des Maizeaux's controversy with Jaquelot in defence of Werenfels.

The later stages of the refugees' interest in English journalism revolve chiefly round the figure of La Roche, who began with the English Memoirs of Literature. It has already been shown that there was close contact and sympathy between La Roche and Des Maizeaux, and that the latter certainly counted for something in the Bibliothèque Angloise. After this interlude, La Roche returned to English journalism with his New Memoirs of Literature, which led later to The Present State of the Republick of Letters, while La Roche went off on another tack with A Literary Journal. Although La Roche was the chief author of the Memoirs, he was probably not the only one, and the work appears to have been regarded as the organ of the refugee literati as a group. Thus in April 1726 the London correspondent of Trévoux - still, in all probability, Des Maizeaux - remarks

63) The Beginning of English Literary Periodicals. p. 32.

"Notre Journal se fait présentement en Anglois sous le
Titre de Mémoires de Littérature : New Memoirs of
Literature." 64)

The background influence of Des Maizeaux is noticeable in these Memoirs, which flourished from 1725 to 1727, if only in the abstracts of his various projects at the time. These include reviews of his Chillingworth 65), the Toland edition of 1726 66), and no less than five abstracts from a History of Japan by the German traveller Kämpfer 67). Des Maizeaux's connection with this work is bound up with his Royal Society contacts. The manuscript was brought back from Germany by his friend Zollman, with the object of publishing it in English. The project was backed by Sloane and the English version was written by another friend, J.-G. Scheuchzer, Sloane's assistant and secretary 68). It was an impressive work in its day, and Des Maizeaux was prevailed upon to translate it into French 69). A French version duly appeared but Des Maizeaux, who objected to translating, probably

64) Trévoux, April 1726. p. 771.

65) New Memoirs of Lit. Vol. II. p. 33.

66) Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 106.

67) Ibid. Vol. V. p. 416 etc.

68) Brit. Mus. Sloane MS. 4047/31, 100, 184, 188, 331, 335.
Zollman to Sloane, 1723-4.

69) MS. 4289/189-190. Draft. D. to - ? Nov. 19, 1727.

produced only part of it 70). There is other evidence of the Des Maizeaux background in the Memoirs; a review of a Xenophon edition by his Oxford friend Hutchinson is careful to point out the dedication to "his generous and learned Patron the Earl of Macclesfield" 71); and once more, the old question of Servetus is re-opened 72).

La Roche retired from the scene in 1727, and "another hand undertook the Iresent 'tate of the Republick of Letters, which replaced the Memoirs. This was apparently a journalist named Reid, who was followed in 1729 by a certain "Mr. Campbell"⁷³⁾, probably John Campbell, who contributed to the Biographia Britannica, held literary gatherings, and was known to Johnson and Boswell. Campbell was certainly a friend of Des Maizeaux, for Von Hagedorn refers to him "avec son air et son silence mystérieux", in a letter to Des Maizeaux in 1731 ⁷⁴⁾. In 1733, the Geneva booksellers Pérachon and Cramer wrote to Des Maizeaux for sources of information on English ecclesiastical writers, and pointed out that "votre Journal Anglois" was of

70) Bibl. Angl. Vol. XV. Pt.2, pp. 554-5. This says that IM.
abandoned it because of ill-health.

71) ~~ikidxxXm1xxixxixx26~~.New Memoirs of Lit. Vol. VI. p.59.

72) ~~BibbxxxxxxK9lxxxixxxixxx229xx~~ Ibid. Vol. I. p.26.

73) Eibl. Paris. Vol. II. Pt.1. p. 225.

74) M. 4284/61. Von Hagedorn to DL. Oct. 5, 1731.

no use, as they did not understand English ⁷⁵⁾. From these odd references there is enough circumstantial evidence to suggest a close and continuous contact with the English periodicals. All of them printed The State of Learning, corresponding to the continental nouvelles littéraires, and it is not unlikely that Des Maizeaux was concerned in the English as well as the French versions. At least one article in the Present State suggests Des Maizeaux - a letter published in 1735 proposing a set of lives of famous Fellows of the Royal Society, with a specimen life of Robert Hook ⁷⁶⁾. Although one must be cautious in dealing with this anonymous journalistic activity, there are strong grounds for regarding these journals as the organ of a group which included Des Maizeaux, as a general adviser to a kind of informal editorial board, very much as in the case of the Bibliothèque Britennique. He did not, of course, play a part comparable to that of La Roche, but the connection is evident, and undoubtedly has a bearing on his general position in Anglo-French journalistic relations.

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75) MS. 4287/225-6. Aug. 15, 1733.

76) Present State -. July 1735.

Chapter XI.

THE LAST YEARS.

The death of Anthony Collins at the end of 1729 marked another turning point of Des Maizeaux's life in England. The first fifteen years, closed by the death of Halifax, had seen his gradual establishment in English literary life, and they were followed by a similar period during which he was able to maintain a certain reputation as a literary personality. There remained to him yet another fifteen years of activity, but it was a period of decline into old age, ill-health and ultimate obscurity. His value as an intermediary in the literary relations of England and France, which could never be more than ephemeral, was cancelled by the appearance of Voltaire and Cr vost. The pioneer days were over, and from now on, Des Maizeaux would never be anything more than a superannuated hack, a rather pathetic link with the little court which had surrounded St.-Evremont at the beginning of the century. With the loss of his best friend and the disgrace of Lacroixfield, Des Maizeaux faced a bleak future, and his reputation, such as it was, would not do much to eke out his pension, reduced to about forty pounds a year by taxation, which moved him to an unsuccessful appeal to Lord Carteret. On this sum, he certainly did not consider himself "passing rich."

As a symbol of this time of change, even the association of the Rainbow dropped out in 1729, from which time the exiles held their gatherings at Slaughter's Coffee House. This was still in St. Martin's Lane, and although Des Maizeaux was usually to be found in lodgings in Hanover Street or Brownlow Street, along by Covent Garden and Drury Lane ¹⁾, he did not stray far away, and for a time lived in St. Martin's Lane itself ²⁾, then considered

"a very good thoroughfare both for foot and horse, and well-inhabited, having good built houses with a fine freestone pavement which was secured from carts and coaches by handsome posts" ³⁾.

Notes would be addressed to him vaguely "on ye Pavement, St. Martin's Lane" ⁴⁾ or "demeurant tous les soirs au café de Slaughter depuis six jusqu'à dix" ⁵⁾. He was a permanent feature of the landscape, a figure whom the years had advanced to senatorial status among the refugees, who still remained loyal to their French origins by a propensity to

- 1) MS. 4285/11-17. Letters of Hallé, clerk to the pensioners' agent. 1731.
- 2) MS. 4289/110. An agreement for D's tenancy of "a parlour, a room with the use of a garret" March 1733.
- 3) Strype, 1720, quoted by C.L. Kingsford : The Early History of Piccadilly, Leicester Square and Soho. p. 49.
- 4) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4476/178.
- 5) MS. 4284/155-6. A letter of .t. Hyacinthe, from Paris.

elannishness in their social life. It is still difficult to picture him physically; D'Olivet, who visited London in 1724, reported his meeting with Des Maizeaux "qui par sa figure est un pauvre cancre" ⁶⁾. He was then in his fifties, and recovering from a period of ill-health, but after those days, he seems to have acquired a fairly ^{ly} patriarchal air; in 1731, Daniel Coyer, one of the younger littérateurs among Des Maizeaux's circle, wrote to him from abroad :

"Je romps enfin un silence dont je commence à avoir honte, et je m'aquite de mes promesses et de mon devoir à l'égard de mon T. R. Père; titre que nous étions accoutumé de vous donner (sic), qui vous convient parfaitement " ⁷⁾

From certain other hints, he may be imagined as a rotund individual - the result, no doubt, of a sedentary life and long addiction to the cabaret and good English food. He was also a martyr to gout (usually passed off as "rheumatism"), the penalty of his predilection for good wine, and it was perhaps this torment which added to his usual benignity a caustic vein which is recorded in the following tale.

6) Marais & Journal et Mémoires, éd. Leseure. Vol. III. p. 272. The words are those of Marais, who adds, characteristically, " - et je l'avois déjà jugé tel par l'esprit."

7) MS. 4288/169-170. Nov. 9, 1731.

"As Mr. Des Maizeaux was one drinking a dish of chocolate at Slaughter's Coffee House, two strangers came in, sat down at the same table, and began a very warm dispute about some subject of literature. One of them was very polite and moderate, for he had reason on his side, the other very rude and very violent, for he was in the wrong. In about half an hour the moderate man, unable any longer to hear the vociferation and insolence of his adversary, retired from the field of battle. Scarcely was he gone out of the room, before the furious champion, flushed with his victory, turns round to M. Des Maizeaux, and says, Well, sir I don't you think that I have mauled my antagonist finely? Yes, Sir, says the dry old man, that you have; and if ever I should fight with the Philistines, I should wish to make use of your jaw-bone." 8)

The main lines of Des Maizeaux's literary activity during this last period of his life have already been indicated; there was always work to be done for the journals, and his other mainstay was his labours on the various biographical dictionaries. The publication of the long-deferred Vie de Bayle must have left a void; that too, as the climax of his original work, marked the end of a period in about 1730, and it might well be wondered what he would do, having delivered himself of his magnum opus. After an interval without news, the witty Marais observed cruelly to Bouhier :

"Je ne sais ce que Desmaizeaux est devenu; il fait peut-être la vie de Jurieu!" 9)

8) Gentleman's Magazine Vol. XLIV, 1774. p. 618.

9) Marais, op. cit. Vol. IV. p. 470. Marais to Bouhier, March 12, 1733.

In fact, Des Maizeaux was going on much as he always had done, pottering about in the bookshops with his pocket-glass, avidly collecting the literary chit-chat of the day, fussing about as a literary go-between. He was involved in some interesting and creditable undertakings, notably the fine edition of the History of De Thou in Latin, which was prepared by Samuel Buckley at the expense of the enthusiastic amateur of letters, Dr. Mead. It is curious that the production of the master-edition of this work should have been left to the initiative of an Englishman, and it was rightly considered as a reflection on the French publishers. Buckley was working on this edition in the late 1720's, and although most of the material had been collected by Thomas Carte, Des Maizeaux certainly procured some of it through Marais and Bouhier, who appear to have got in touch with the last surviving descendant of the historian ¹⁰⁾. He was also the intermediary between Buckley and the 16th-century enthusiast Le Duchat, who was prevailed upon to provide notes ¹¹⁾, and he did much to publicize the edition by printing three letters from Buckley to Mead in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée, and by distributing them

¹⁰⁾ Ms. 4285/132-3, 134-5, Marais to Dr. Mead - April 1733;
Marais : Journal et Mémoires, Vol. IV pp. 95, 172-3;
Bibl. Nationale Ms. F. Fr. 25 541/301b, 463b, Corr. of
Marais and Bouhier.

¹¹⁾ Ms. 4283/170-175. Le Duchat to Dr. Mead 1728 - 1730.

among his correspondents. As a result of this undertaking in England, Frenchmen were put on their mettle, and two separate French translations were put in hand, one by Desfontaines and his group, the other by Abbé Prévost. Des Maizeux seems to have been concerned in at least one of these editions also, although no precise details can be found concerning his part in it. In June 1733 Bougerel wrote to him :

"Le bruit avoit couru que vous travailliez avec le P. Le Courayer à la traduction de l'Histoire de M. de Thou", 12)

and the foundations of this rumour are strengthened to some extent by a reference in one of his own draft letters, an appeal concerning the taxation of his pension, asking for his case to be brought to the notice of the Queen

"To whom I was made known on occasion of Thuanus's French translation." 13)

Des Maizeux certainly played a part in this general revival of interest in De Thou, and Prévost comes into the affair somehow, although here again the evidence breaks down. That wayward cleric is said by his biographer HARRISSE to have met Buckley in France, and to have formed then the project of a French version of De Thou, which he revived when their acquaintance was renewed in England ¹⁴⁾. In 1731 the

12) MS. 4281/299. June 27, 1733.

13) MS. 4289/108-9. May 18, 1732.

14) L'Abbé Prévost. p. 144.

Journal Littéraire published Prévost's projet, and this drew forth a satirical reply in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée, which HARRISSE attributes to Des Maizeaux, although it is purely a matter of conjecture ¹⁵⁾. He is probably right, for there is little doubt that Prévost encountered Des Maizeaux and his friends, and that relations between them were not of the best. Des Maizeaux's correspondence is the source of some well-known secondary references to the "ex-moine", almost all of them hostile; MARAIS, too, is found spreading scandal about Prévost which he must almost certainly have picked up from the lost letters of Des Maizeaux ¹⁶⁾. It is just possible that the "Thuanus's translation" with which Des Maizeaux was involved, was the incomplete one by Prévost, which appeared at the same time as the Buckley Latin edition in 1733, a year before the Paris edition, which also, to complicate the matter, came out under the London rubric. Prévost's backers were the publishers Josse and Neaulme at The Hague, and he let them down badly at the time of his precipitate departure from Holland in January 1733. Gosse was in London in 1732 ¹⁷⁾, and Des Maizeaux had dealings with them at that time, probably in connection with their Journal Littéraire, and certainly over the second edition of the Vie de Bayle. In February 1734

15) L'Abbé Prévost, pp. 158-9.

16) MARAIS, op. cit. Vol. IV. pp. 466, 504.

17) MS. 4283/67. Daudé to D.J. Nov. 19 (1732).

one of his fellow-journalists, Pierre Daudé, writing from Paris, refers to some advice sent by Des Maizeaux concerning Prévost, to correspondence with Gosse, and to a "malheureuse affaire" ¹⁸⁾. This could, however, refer to the bankruptcy of Nicolas Prévost the bookseller, and it is not safe to accept it as evidence for Des Maizeaux's possible encounter with the creator of *Manon*, although as it happens, there is a further reference to "Prévôt d'Exille" in the same letter of Daudé. The only certainty that emerges from this haze is that Prévost made himself unpopular with the refugee clique, even if it was only by poking fun at the typographer Maittaire in Le Pour et le Contre ¹⁹⁾. Apart from that, of course, his arrest and his emotional entanglements made him a nine-days' wonder.

The Prévost episode involves another visitor to Des Maizeaux's group - Charles-Etienne Jordan, author of the Voyage littéraire of 1733, who sealed his alliance with the refugees by spreading insinuations about Prévost in print. Jordan crossed to England on July 2, 1733 armed with an introduction to Des Maizeaux from the Neuchâtel professor

18) MS. 4283/57-8. Daudé to DM. Febr. 27, 1734. On April 7, 1733, De la Motte asks DM. to get news of the "fripon" Prévost for Gosse and Neaulme. MS. 4287/113, and it certainly seems that DM. was in sympathy with the publishers.

19) MS. 4285/210. Maittaire to DM. No date.

Louis Bourguet ²⁰⁾, and left a number of observations about the little literary world which had its centre at Slaughter's Coffee House, telling of his meetings with Des Maizeaux's friends and collaborators such as Le Moine, of the "Société Britannique" and chaplain to the Duke of Portland De Moivre ("homme d'esprit et d'un commerce très-agréable"), Durand, then working on an edition of Télémaque in which he was assisted by Des Maizeaux, Daudé, Masson, De Missy and the rest ²¹⁾. Although Jordan's phraseology is misleading, he seems to have met Des Maizeaux and Prévost on the same day, possibly both at the coffee-house. It is at this point in his narrative that he refers to Prévost's "action criminelle", but passes swiftly on to Des Maizeaux.

"Je trouvais l'aimable et savant Mr. Des Maizeaux, que tous ceux qui font Profession de Littérature connoissent; il me procura les Oeuvres de Marot - - le même Exemplaire dont Mr. Des Maizeaux avoit fait présent à Mr. Bayle." ²²⁾

During his month in London, Jordan appears to have seen much of the "révérend Père":

"J'eus hier le plaisir de me promener avec Mr. Des Maizeaux - - - . Mr. Des Maizeaux croit fermement que Mr. de Leibnitz n'a donné sa Théodicée que comme un badinage . . . Je me souviens que Mr. Des Maizeaux me parut frappé de l'Evidence des Raisons que je lui alléguai." ²³⁾

20) MS. 4281/305-6.

21) Hist. d'un Voyage Littéraire fait en 1733. p.141 et seq.

22) Ibid. p. 148.

23) Ibid. p. 149.

A little later he recalls that

"J'eus l'Honneur de dîner avec Mr. Des Maizeaux chez
l'illustre Docteur Mead, qui tient un Rang si distingué
dans la République des Lettres." 24)

Mead was a great man with Des Maizeaux, especially for his promotion of the De Thou edition, and also for his claim to be the only possessor of all the works of Servetus. Voltaire had also met him, perhaps through the same intermediary.

Jordan is typical of the voyageurs littéraires, who found their way to St. Martin's Lane; the process was going on all the time, just as it had done in the old Rainbow days. The haughty Montesquieu probably moved in higher circles, though he must have encountered the refugees at the Royal Society. Another distinguished figure certainly entered the Des Maizeaux orbit in 1734, namely Etienne de Silhouette, the future controller-general of the French finances, and translator of Pope, Bolingbroke and Warburton. He was recommended to Des Maizeaux by St. Hyacinthe, and entertained at Exford by Gagnier. Des Maizeaux arranged his supply of books, ranging from political and commercial works to Confucius and Paradise Lost 25). It was a varied collection of visitors that the patriarch of Slaughter's helped to introduce to England in his later years, including on the one hand the Italian virtuosi Algarotti and Scipio Maffei 26), and on the other,

24) Hist. d'un Voyage etc. p. 169.

25) MS. 4288/104-112. Silhouette to DM. Febr.-May 1734.

26) MS. 4284/157-8. St. Hyacinthe to DM. April 1, 1736.

duller, pedantic labourers such as La Martinière 27). Perhaps the most unusual figure recommended to his protecting wing was a young dancer seeking her fortune on the English stage. This was a joke by Marais, who sent by this messenger Bouhier's solemn Explication de quelques Marbres antiques, a strange combination of antiquité and nouveauté. 28). On hearing of it, Bouhier observed wickedly :

"Des Maizeaux en effet sera bien étonné de voir la Sallé (car je crois que c'est d'elle que vous voulez me parler) porteuse de mes observations sur les marbres. Si j'avois su cela, j'en aurois joint quelques-unes sur les Iriapées. La chose auroit été mieux assortie." 29)

It was all one to the grave Des Maizeaux who, to give him his due, was always ready to give a helping hand to anyone, including out-of-work valets and tutors, mindful, no doubt, of his own early days in London, and endowed with an instinctive good nature.

27) MS. 4235/191, 200. Letters of La Martinière.

28) MS. 4235/136. Marais to M. Sept. 15, 1733. Marais : Journal et Mémoires, Vol. IV, pp. 529, 530, 533.

29) Bibl. Nationale MS. F-Fr. 25 542/175b. Bouhier to Marais. Oct. 20, 1733.

Slaughter's was still a main assembly-point for French visitors to London, those who, as La Martinière expressed it, wished to

"gouter à Londres la permission de philosopher sans scandale," 30)

and it may naturally be asked whether its gatherings showed a continuation of the freethinking element discernible in the days of the Rainbow, when Toland was alive. Since most of the habitués of the place were the same, except for the inevitable gaps left by death or departure from the capital, the current of opinion in support of toleration clearly persisted, although after Collins' death the urgency had gone out of Des Maizeaux's propaganda. That his circle continued to propagate freethinking notions is shown particularly in the letters of Pierre Daudé the younger, one of the "société britannique" who, though nominally a minister, revealed his real sympathies clearly enough by translating Gordon's discourses on Tacitus, having been introduced to that militant freethinker by Des Maizeaux. Most of Daudé's letters turn on the petty literary affairs of the moment, but one is particularly revealing. It was written in 1733 from Paris, where Daudé was trying to publish his Latin satire Sibylla Capitolina, written against the Bull Unigenitus. In the middle of his

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30) MS. 4285/204-5. La Martinière to DM. May 6, 1739.

letter, Daudé uses a crude code-device to report the progress of freethinking in Paris, by giving to an English sentence the appearance of a book title.

"J'attends qu'on m'apprenne si l'on a accordé ou refusé la permission secrète pour l'impression de la Sibylle elle pourra divertir quelques gens d'esprit de ce pays qui aiment assez cette sorte de Satyre. Freethinking is very rife in this town, and a Northerly wind hath blown down a great spirit of freedom in any respect. Il est seulement à craindre que le bruit des tambours n'empêche d'entendre la voix des Muses."

31)

Here once again is the conspiratorial note which leaves little doubt that the Des Maizeaux group was still participating actively in a kind of freethinking "underground movement" between England and France.

But the main emphasis of Des Maizeaux's life during the 1730's is the literary rather than the freethinking one. The friendship of men like Birch, Lockman and Mead replaces that of Collins or Toland as the representative element of his social life. Birch's manuscript diary gives a fair picture of this literary background, with its record of contacts with such men as Collins' erstwhile friend Dean Sykes, Zachary Pearce, Bishop of Rochester and another of Macolesfield's protégés, Conyers Middleton and Martin Folkes, - and of course Mead. Occasional entries by Birch make mention of Des Maizeaux

31) MS. 4233/49-50. Dec. 22, 1733.

such as :

"din'd with the Proprietors of the General Dictionary.
Adfuerunt J-P. Bernard, Johann. Lockman et Petrus
Des Maizeaux"

or :

"Fransus sum apud R. Mead M.D. sum Guil. Jones Arm.
Petro Des Maizeaux Arm., Tho. Stack A.D. et R. Bantleio."

32)
Behind Birch's comfortable Latinity there is a glimpse of
the elderly refugee drifting about not unhappily in his
eighteenth-century English backwater. The association with
Birch is in part the key to Des Maizeaux's position as a
dignified elder, not only among the exiles, but also in
relation to the purely English "republick of letters". He
may have been on the downward path, but he was still
undoubtedly something of a figure, especially to young men
just embarking on a literary life. There are two parti-
cularly interesting instances of this, the first of which
concerns Warburton, not yet advanced to the blustering
dignity of his episcopate, but feeling his way with oppor-
tunist and even obsequious zeal into a more promising
environment than that of his native Newark. He seems to
have encountered Des Maizeaux in 1732, and thought him worth
cultivating - a piquant situation when one recalls the
Frenchman's own earlier days. Warburton's first letter to

32) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 44786/13b and 71b. Nov. 6, 1736;
Oct. 9, 1741.

him is a delicious example of the 18th century approach.

"Newarke upon Trent
Sept. 9. 1732.

"Good Sir. I remember with a very particular pleasure those two or three agreeable hours which I had the happiness of passing in your conversation. It was a satisfaction like that the curious feel in viewing the scene of any past great action. For all the late occurrences in the literary world did then immediately present themselves to me in which I knew you had born so long and so glorious a share. But the relations of foreign Journals cou'd but faintly represent to me, tho' they all concurred in doing it, that abounding candour and humanity that so much captivated my esteem and veneration. But was it only to tell you this (tho' I have been ambitious that you shou'd know it) that I give you this trouble, I shou'd be very much without excuse. What occasions it is my chancing upon a little kind of curiosity, which if it proves so may not be unacceptable to you. It is a small gold coin which the Parisians of ye League when they held out agt. Hen. 4 in 1592 struck to the old Card. of Bourbon under the title of Charles the tenth If this be any curiosity I desire your acceptance of it and will take care to transmit it to you.

There is a small hole in it as if to be hung abt. ye neck in a ribbon, and I imagine it was so applied by those poor wretches, drunk with superstition, rage and enthusiasm." 33)

It was some time before the "bit of French gold" was sent, but this letter must have warmed the heart of Des Maizeaux, himself an adept at flattery, and the pair remained on friendly terms at least until 1738, by which time Warburton had so far outgrown him as to be able to refer to him behind his back as "the verbose tasteless Frenchman" in his comment to Birch on the Life of Boileau. But he seems to have

33) MS. 4288/231. Warburton's letters to DM. were printed by Nichols: Literary Illustrations, 1817, v. II, pp. 64-6.

respected Des Maizeaux for his "universal knowledge in literature" ³⁴⁾ and more particularly for his work as a disciple of Bayle, of whom Warburton was an admirer. Warburton's friendship with Des Maizeaux is of interest when it is remembered that there are elements of Bayle's thought in the famous Divine Legation of Moses, the first part of which belongs to this period, and, although supposed to be an answer to the deists, drew forth accusations of supporting them, especially Middleton. But the tangible memorial to the association of Des Maizeaux and Warburton is in fairly frequent references to the latter in the nouvelles littéraires of both the Bibliothèque Raisonnée and the Bibliothèque Britannique, in which Des Maizeaux also published Warburton's specimen of an edition of Velleius Paterculus ³⁵⁾. He may also have promoted favourable reviews of both the Alliance of Church and State and the Divine Legation.

A more significant indication of Des Maizeaux's reputation as an authority on philosophical matters is given by the case of the second young man who submitted his first work to his judgment. Since this was no less a person than David Hume, the choice of Des Maizeaux as mentor is particularly noteworthy. Hume must have met the refugee on his return from

34) M. 4293/234. Warburton to Dd. May 15, 1736.

35) Ibid. It appeared in the Bibl. Brit. Vol. VII. pt. 2.

La Flèche, with most of his Treatise of Human Nature written. Very different from Warburton is the forthright appeal of Hume, writing after the disappointing reception of his work in 1739.

"Sir. Whenever you see my Name, you'll readily imagine the subject of my letter. A young Author can scarce forbear speaking of his Performance to all the World : But when he meets with one that is a good Judge, and whose Instruction and Advice he depends on, there ought some Indulgence to be given him. You were so good as to promise me that, if you cou'd find Leisure from your other Occupations, you wou'd look over my System of Philosophy, and at the same time ask the opinion of such of your Acquaintance as you thought proper Judges. Have you found it sufficiently intelligible ? Does it appear true to you ? Do the Style and Language seem tolerable ? These three Questions comprehend every thing; and I beg of you to answer them with the utmost Freedom and Sincerity. I know 't is a custom to flatter Poets on their Performances, but I hope Philosophers may be exempted Every Error in Philosophy can be distinctly markt and prov'd to be such; and this is a Favour I flatter myself you'll indulge me in with regard to the Performance I put into your hands." 36)

How far Des Maizeaux encouraged the young philosopher is not known, but his approval of the work may be inferred from a brief notice of it in a news-letter in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée, probably the first to draw the attention of French readers to "un gentilhomme nommé Mr. Hume" :

"Ceux qui demandent du neuf trouveront ici de quoi se satisfaire. L'auteur raisonne sur son propre fonds, il approfondit les matières et se trace de nouvelles routes. Il est très-original." 37)

36) MS. 4284/15xx 125-6. Hume to DM. April 6. 1739.

37) Bibl. Rais. Vol. XXII, Pt. 2 pp. 481-2.

Thus does the story of Des Maizeaux provide a continuous thread of personal contact with leading figures of philosophisme on both sides of the Channel, during the first forty years of the century.

There is no novelty in his own literary activity at this late stage, although age does not seem to have wearied him in his dealings as a literary agent. If one were planning a new edition of Rabelais, Des Maizeaux would assist; if one wished to dispose of engravings for Don Quixote, Des Maizeaux ~~was~~ was the man to try ³⁸⁾; if one were engaged in public controversy, Des Maizeaux would open the pages of the foreign periodicals. An instance of this was that interesting figure Le Courrayer, with whose name that of Des Maizeaux has already been linked in connection with the editions of De Thou. Le Courrayer was much in the public eye when he retired to England as a result of his championship of the legality of Anglican Orders, and participation in the attempt to unite the Gallican and Anglican churches. Some of his pieces were published separately or in the periodicals through Des Maizeaux and his friend De la Motte ³⁹⁾.

38) Bibl. du Protestantisme Français. MS. 295. No. 38.
DM. to De la Motte. May 9, 1735.

39) MS. 4287/47, etc. Letters of De la Motte.

Apart from his work on the different dictionaries, Des Maizeaux's principal preoccupation during the 1730's was with a bulky collection of -ana, containing the miscellaneous jottings, sayings and odd pieces, of Joseph Scaliger, De Thou, Cardinal Du Perron, François Pithou and Calomies. This miscellany, planned years before, did not finally appear in print until 1740. It was dedicated suitably to Mead, since the Thuana were derived chiefly from the Buckley edition of the History. Des Maizeaux's collection was edited in a scholarly way, indicating yet again his passion for literary oddments and for 16th century studies, but it can scarcely be regarded as original work. There are some good things among the sayings of the sceptical Scaliger, and some of them had furnished points to both Collins and Toland. This kind of material held a fascination for Des Maizeaux, who at one time seems to have meditated a French translation of Selden's Table-Talk.

There are signs that Des Maizeaux's decline linked him more closely than ever with the bookselling fraternity, now that he had lost most of his earlier claims to a place at the tables of the great. The downfall of Macclesfield and the death of Collins had reduced his pretensions to a modest aim to keep himself alive in his little world, and even this was not too certain of fulfilment. In the summer

of 1733 he fell ill, and languished miserably for six months in his lodgings in St. Martin's Lane ⁴⁰⁾. A visit to the country and the attentions of Sloane restored him, and for the next three years, the period of his work on the English Bayle, he lived in a humble way in Hanover Street, Long Acre, "next to the Ring and Pearl", which has long since disappeared, but is, not inappropriately, the site of a newspaper-office. From here, he would sally forth to the coffee-house, or join the gatherings of literary men at the Devil Tavern by Temple Bar ⁴¹⁾, or at the shop of Nicolas Prévost. His ties with the French booksellers are illustrated by a growing intimacy with one in particular, François Changuion, a typical foreign bookseller, whose business functioned both in Holland and England. In 1737 Changuion decided that his presence was necessary in Holland, and in August of that year Des Maizeaux actually took up his quarters at Changuion's house and shop in the Strand ⁴²⁾, having undertaken to look after the bookseller's manager and keep a fatherly eye on the business during his absence. This was a wise provision, since Changuion was subsequently reduced to a state of almost lachrymose anguish by the dishonesty or

40) Bibl. Nationale MSS. F-Fr. 24 469/117. DM. to Bouhier. Feb. 8, 1734.

41) MS. 4281/272. Note from Birch, April 3, 1736.

42) MS. 4289/112-3. Memoranda and draft letter to Changuion, giving dates.

incompetence of his deputy, whose conduct provoked disputes which exercised all Des Maizeaux's tact and authority as a mediator ⁴³⁾. He lived at Chenguion's for about two years, and although not formerly connected with the business, he may be said to have reached at last his spiritual home, after many vicissitudes, for if ever a man had the soul of a bouquiniste, it was Pierre Des Maizeaux. He was now a rheumaticky old man, and his sight, which had recovered from the weakness of his younger days, was beginning to trouble him again ⁴⁴⁾, but he was able to subsist with the help of his journalism and services as a cataloguer. In the latter capacity he undertook work for the Master of the Rolls, Sir Joseph Jekyll, though whether this was a private arrangement or was concerned with state papers is not certain ⁴⁵⁾. In 1739 he was to have revised and corrected the catalogue of the Bodleian Library, but this project seems to have been dropped because of his ill-health, after the contribution of some emendations. As he wrote to the librarian, Dr. Fysher, he had

"an old title to the using of his best endeavours
towards ye improvement of yt. noble work,"

having been pressed to do so by two of Fysher's predecessors

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43) MS. 4289/260-263, 4282/72 etc. 4288/167-8, 176-7.

44) Bibl. du Protestantisme Français. MS. 295. No. 40.
Dd. to De la Motte Dec. 7, 1736.

45) MS. 4284/173-4. Letters of Jekyll, July-Dec. 1736.

at the Bodleian ⁴⁶⁾. A sign that he was beginning to feel again the pinch of poverty was his acceptance of the hated labour of translating, not as a gentlemanly diversion, but as hack-work at fifteen shillings a sheet, and from the not very inspiring Roman History of Nathaniel Hooke ⁴⁷⁾.

At this point in Des Maizeaux's story a curious development takes place. After those hints in his youth of certain peccadilloes concerning the "coquetes" of London, there is not the slightest indication of any interest in the opposite sex, apart perhaps for his regard for St. Hyacinthe's wife, the "Goddess of Oxford Chapel", and nothing in the letters of his friends suggests that he led anything but the life of a confirmed bachelor, mellowed only by good food and wine, books and the conversation of kindred souls. But suddenly, during his stay at Changuion's "pauvre petite boutique" Des Maizeaux emerges as a regular family man, and Changuion is found addressing his respects to Madame and talking with avuncular licence of "la chère fille" and "ma petite maitresse" ⁴⁸⁾. It is evident that Des Maizeaux was not quite so deeply buried beneath the dust of libraries as some of his correspondence might suggest, and his daughter

46) MS. 4283/269. MS. 4289/272*4. MS. 4283/206, 210.
Letters of Fysher, DM. and Fabre.

47) MS. 4289/257. Draft. DM. to Changuion. March 28, 1738.

48) "q. 4282/72-3, 74. Changuion to DM. March 18, May 9, 1738.

must have been born by 1730 at the latest, judging by the tone of some of these late references ⁴⁹⁾. This vision of a different side of Des Maizeaux adds point to his nickname of "révérend père", and further letters of Changuion might suggest that he was settling down into a highly moral old age, according to the precepts of his austere youth.

At the end of 1738 Changuion was thinking of putting his eldest son into the Londonbusiness, but naturally that solid citizen and father of eight children was a little uneasy at the thought of turning loose in London a lad of seventeen, fresh from his studies in Geneva. What was more natural than to turn to the respectable old journalist who was looking after his interests and who had himself in his youth left Geneva to brave the pitfalls of London life ? So he wrote to Des Maizeaux :

"Je ne balancerai pas de le mener à Londres si je ne craignois pas pour luy, dans une Ville si dangereuse pour la Jeunesse; vos conseils et ceux de mes autres amis me détermineront, et je n'hésiterai pas de l'y mener si j'osois me

49) In his article on D.M. in the D. N. B., Sir Leslie Stephen refers to a letter of Collins mentioning the birth of a child in 1729. This letter now appears to be missing, but the date 1729 is in keeping with these references to D.'s daughter, and is probably correct.

flatter que vous voulussiez bien l'exhorter à la Vertu et à faire son devoir. Mon Dessein seroit de vous prier de le prendre en pension pour la nourriture; alors ils n'ont pas tant d'occasion à voir des compagnies qui les attendent . . . " 50)

Des Maizeaux responded to this as to all appeals, although the proposal scarcely befitted the dignity of a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. His reply recalls the "belle et bonne plante" of Avenches :

"Ce que vous m'apprenez au sujet de Mr. votre fils m'a fait d'autant plus de plaisir, que je me flatte d'être à portée de pouvoir lui être utile. Les heureuses dispositions qu'il a au bien le rendront toujours cher à ceux qui aiment la Vertu, et ils se feront un mérite de cultiver une terre si bien préparée. Il est vrai que la jeunesse est ici fort déréglée, et que son commerce est dangereux; mais tous nos jeunes gens ne sont gâtés, on en voit qui se garantissent de la contagion, et il y a lieu de croire que les bons principes dont Mr. votre fils est imbu le mettront hors de toute atteinte. Je serai ravi qu'il mange avec nous; cela me fournira l'occasion de le voir et de l'entretenir plus souvent."

Des Maizeaux was declining in an aura of virtue and worth - but there is no doubt that he was declining. During the winter and spring of 1739 he was ill again, and decided that he must forsake his old haunts; accordingly, he went to Marylebone to seek purer air, in July of that year. He was still keeping up appearances, still attending dinners with

50) MS. 4282/76-7. Dec. 26, 1738.

51) MS. 4289/260-271. Draft. DM. to Changuion. Jan. 9, 1739.

Mead and Birch, but his situation was serious, and it was no time for false pride. There exists a draft of a pathetic appeal for help, written probably during August 1739 :

" But so it is, Sir, yt after having showed on all occasions, especially at ye critical juncture, my zeal for ye Royal family, and ye publick welfare; while I was wholly devoted to my Books /I broke off, if I may say so, all commerce with ye world - truthfully deleted/ and striving to subsist myself and family by means of my small stock of learning, together with ye aforesaid pension. I neglected improving ye interest I had in some persons of distinction in power, who wou'd have procured me a competent subsistence forx ye time to come. And now ye diseases and infirmities incident to studious and sedentary persons coming upon me, and being no longer capable of a steady labour or application, having almost lost ye use of my leggs and hands, and my wife being likewise sickly and infirm; I say, after above forty years stay in this Kingdom, and being upwards of 66 years old, I have ye misfortune to find myself and family destitute of a sufficient livelihood, and in a most distressed condition; insomuch that should I happen to dye tomorrow, my poor Wife and Child must go a-begging in ye streets, a dreadful prospect, the thoughts of which overwhelm me with grief night and day and are more painfull than ye fits of ye gravel and rheumatism I am tormented with ! Thus I have given you Sir, according to your desire, a faithfull account of my present unhappy circumstances; where they laid before our benevolent and compassionate superiours, I presume they wou'd not refuse to make easy the few remaining days which Providence has allotted me."

52)

It is likely that Des Maizeux's aim was not merely to obtain an additional grant, but to ensure its continuation

52) MS. 4289/268-271. Two main drafts and fragments. marked August 1739, deleted and replaced by September. The mention of his age confirms the date as 1739.

in the event of his death. It is uncertain to whom the letter was addressed, but it was intended to be brought to the notice of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Duke of Devonshire. His fellow-exile Preverau helped to smooth the path, which led through tortuous ways, and the persons of Sir Robert Wilmot, the viceroy's secretary in England, and the Primate of Ireland, Hugh Boulter, the old friend of the far-off days of Addison, who seems to have taken a personal hand in the matter, and possibly laid Des Maizeaux's case before the Duke ⁵³⁾.

Having made this heartrending appeal in the name of his wife and child, and waited a while to see if anything was likely to come of it, Des Maizeaux seems to have thought it time to attend to another slight formality which had been neglected - in fact, that of getting married The regrettable fact must be accepted that however genuine his kindness, the sober and elderly littérateur, the unctuous protector of erring youth, was up to this rather late hour a whited sepulchre, whose marriage had certainly not received the sanction of the Church, and whose child was

53) MS. 4287/249-250. Preverau to DM. dated only August 29, but almost certainly 1739. Among Birch's papers is a note in an unknown hand "Mr. Preverau a parlé à Mr. Willmot au sujet de Mr. Des Maizeaux. Le chevalier Willmot demande une copie de la requête que le primat d'Irlande doit présenter pour Mr. D. sur son affaire." Add. MS. 4299/70. Wilmot was knighted in May 1739.

illegitimate. His appeal, however true in substance and pathos, was in point of detail something of a pious fraud. Perhaps he had objected to a more formal union on principle, or possibly, having become wedded to Bayle's dictionary, he had overlooked the claims of his other liaison. Whatever the explanation, he now took steps to regularize matters, and the ceremony took place on February 2, 1740, by special licence and not, of course, in his own parish of Marylebone. In the circumstances, the affair had to be clandestine, so Des Maizeaux and his bride stole forth to St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, for the occasion. Nothing is known of his wife, except that she was named Ann Brown, and had not been previously married; at the time of her actual marriage to the exile, when he himself was about 67, she was probably a middle-aged woman. While there is no conclusive documentary proof that she was the mother of his child and the woman who passed as his wife during the 1730's, the circumstances leave little room for doubt, especially the fact that the marriage took place with the expense of a licence, and in a parish at a suitable distance from Marylebone. A man of Des Maizeaux's age and situation would hardly embark on marriage without good cause, and in this case the compelling reason was presumably not the pangs of an uneasy conscience - though that may have entered into it - so much as the necessity of providing for his dependents, since he obviously

thought he had not much longer to live ⁵⁴⁾. So far as is known his pension was not increased, although it might have been had not Boulter died suddenly in 1742. In March of that year, however, Des Maizeaux's appeals bore fruit in as much that royal authorization was obtained for the transfer of his pension to his wife's name, thus setting at rest his worst fears ⁵⁵⁾.

Although he was something of a humbug, his story is, after all, a human one, and one should not be too censorious. There are extenuating circumstances; he cannot be accused of philandering, for the evidence suggests that his liaison with the mysterious Ann Brown was of long standing ⁵⁶⁾, and that

54) This interesting question of DM's marriage has not been raised before, although the actual date was discovered and communicated to Agnew for his account of DM. in his Protestant Exiles, 3rd Ed. The entry appears in the published copy of the register of St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden.

"Feb. 2. 1740. "Peter Dez Maizeaux of the Parish of St. Mary Le Bone in the County of Middlesex and Ann Brown of the same Parish; by the Revd. John Evans, With Licence."

Agnew apparently overlooked the inconsistency of earlier references to Madame and daughter, or the unexpectedness of such a late marriage. It could of course be a second marriage, or even, conceivably, a different Peter Des Maizeaux, although the Marylebone address of both parties makes this unlikely. The writer has, however, been able to dispose of both these possibilities by tracing the "allegation" for the Marriage Licence in the Bishop of London's Registry. The entry bears the authentic signature of P. Des Maizeaux and is dated Jan. 29, 1740. The sworn statement names him as a "batchelor" and Ann Brown as a spinster, both "21 years and upwards". There is thus no doubt that DM. was not legally married before 1740.

55) MS. 4289/114, 333-4. Copies of deed giving power of Attorney with regard to the pension.

even before the ceremony in 1740 it had all the attributes of lawful marriage. Poverty does not seem to have prevented the growth of a normal happy family atmosphere, and Des Maizeaux evidently played the part of loyal husband and father. A letter written to him in 1744 by a Lincolnshire clergyman, a member of Birch's circle, begins :

"Give an old friend leave to pay you the Compliment of the New Year, and to enquire after your health at a season when everyone thinks of those they love, are solicitous for their welfare and full of good wishes of every Thing that may make them happy.

I write you this letter from as great a Solitude as you live in - as great say ? from a much greater. For you have your house full of those who love you, and to whom you are dear. I am the sole Object of myself in my Family, unless it be that of a little female dog of 9 colours who is my Companion and who lyes snoring by my side before the fire - happy in her obscurity." 57)

Des Maizeaux still had the pleasures of friendship and family life to console him for the trials of old age, and this letter sets the tone of the more cheerful aspect of his last years.

The year 1740, which saw his marriage and restoration to theoretical respectability, might also be considered to

56) (from p.465)

A mention in 1727 by De la Motte of a "renue - ménage" might have a bearing on this liaison. MS. 4287/3-4.
July 4, 1727.

57) MS. 4289/1 - 2. R. Whatley to DM. Dec. 29, 1744.

mark his withdrawal from the literary scene, following the publication of the last edition of Bayle's dictionary with which he was concerned, the volumes of -ana, and a second edition of his collection of philosophical pieces. His chief concern was now to obtain payment for his labours, never an easy matter where the stony-hearted Dutch publishers were concerned. In September 1740 he had to appeal to Smith for settlement of his claims concerning the Dictionary and news-articles for the Bibliothèque Raisonnée.

"Les Nouvelles Littéraires sont un si petit objet pour vous que je n'ose quasi pas vous prier de vouloir bien faire le compte de celles de l'année dernière La vérité est que je me trouve obligé de payer une somme considérable; et vous savez qu'en ce cas-là, tout aide." 58)

Life was certainly hard for the little household by the Rose tavern in Marylebone, but the old exile was again able to go out on his little literary errands.

"J'ai été traité assez favorablement par le grand froid qu'il a fait, et je n'ai pas laissé d'aller de tems en tems à Londres, qui n'est qu'à un à deux milles d'ici." 59)

There are indications that Des maizeaux was now scraping together a few honest shillings by translating and employing others on similar work ⁶⁰⁾. There is a note of panic, in

58) MS. 4289/278. Draft. DM. to Smith. Sept. 2, 1740.

59) MS. 4289/276. Draft. April 11, 1740. to De la Motte(?)

60) MS. 4281/11. 370.

fact, in the following note of April 1741 : -

"Je ne saurois différer plus longtemps à vous prier de m'apprendre jusqu'où vous avez poussé notre affaire: cela doit être à peu près fini. On le demande à corps et à cris; et ce qui est encore plus fâcheux - c'est qu'on m'a assuré que l'Auteur travaille à mettre son ouvrage en François; il en est très capable par le séjour qu'il a fait à Paris. Je meurs de peur qu'on ne vienne à le savoir delà la mer; en quel cas nous serions cassés aux gages, et aurions bien pris de la peine inutilement." 61)

At about the same time he seems to have agreed to resign his title as Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, for a consideration by another aspiring candidate 62), and - a bitter blow - was obliged to begin selling off his precious stock of books, to such people as "Orator" Henley, and to the lowest class of booksellers 63). This is a sure indication that he had sunk very low. He was still in harness as Wetstein's correspondent for the Bibliothèque Raisonnée, but was finding it increasingly difficult to keep in touch with events. In the end Wetstein offered him a fixed payment of a guinea a quarter for his nouvelles, and for this pittance the old man carried on, although he wished to give up the work 64). It

61) MS. 4289/283. Draft to - ? April 18, 1741.

62) MS. 4288/180. Fm. Thomson to DM. Jan. 16, 1741.

63) MS. 4284/82-3. Henley to DM. June 4, 1742; MS. 4287/231 Perrin to DM. Jan. 28, 1743. It is probable that DM. was reduced to selling books on commission.

64) MS. 4288/264. J. Wetstein to DM. Nov. 9, 1742.

was not easy to find a successor, and in 1742 the publisher had to appeal to his cousin Caspar Wetstein, an Anglican clergyman, to seek a substitute.

"Comme Mr. Des Maizeaux, qui m'a fourni jusqu'à ici les Nouvelles Littéraires de Londres pour ma Bibliothèque Raisonnée se fait vieux et qu'il demande d'en être excusé, vous m'obligeriez beaucoup à me procurer la connoissance de quelque autre françois homme de lettres."
65)

Wetstein was still appealing for help in 1743, apparently in vain, and Des Maizeaux did not finally relinquish the burden until 1744.

At the beginning of 1743 he left Marylebone for some reason, and was living in Adam and Eve Court, off the Tyburn Road, almost in Soho, where he had begun his life in England. He must have reflected bitterly on his early aspirations, for he was now almost at the lowest ebb of his fortunes, and in very poor health. He still had a few friends, however, who took pity on his misfortunes, including Sir John Dutton, the friend of his youth in the Barwick household, who wrote:

"My Good Old Friend,

I am heartily concerned to learn from your last letter ye ill state of your health and of your Affairs, and am very sorry you have lost so good a friend in the Primate of Ireland, who universally bore an amiable character. I have desired Sr. Thomas Reade to furnish you with ten guineas for me "

66)

65) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 32 416/297 (Wetstein Papers).
J. Wetstein to Caspar Wetstein. March 5, 1742.

66) MS. 4283/194. Jan. 26, 1742/3.

And the second Earl of Macclesfield, son of Des Maizeaux's patron, also collected money for him when he learnt of his distress ⁶⁷⁾. By the summer of 1743 he was living again in Marylebone, where there was a colony of the older refugees, some of whom were probably as near to destitution as Des Maizeaux himself. Their world was finished; there was nothing more to hope for in England, and they had no desire to return to France. Des Maizeaux himself had some years previously turned down St. Hyacinthe's suggestion that he should do so, and his friend Daudé, who had gone to Paris, could find no satisfaction there, but only a sharpening of his nostalgia for a dead past. He wrote of his desire to revisit Des Maizeaux at Marylebone, having lost the taste for the show and luxury of the French capital, and been shocked at the spirit of national hatred which he found there, and which seemed to mock the long labours of the exiles towards a better understanding and the spread of liberal ideas.

"Si le Seigneur nous donne paix en sorte qu'il n'y ait point de rupture ouverte entre les François et les Anglois, mon intention est d'aller vivre et mourir à Londres, quelques dégouts que l'on y essuye en qualité d'étrangers. S'il y reste encore quelque compatriote, les noeuds se resserront davantage." 68)

67) MS. 4284/256. Macclesfield to DM. April 24, 1743.

68) MS. 4283/53-4. Daudé to DM. Jan. 4, 1744.

Sixty years after the Revocation, London was still the spiritual home of the exiles, and none had clung to it more constantly than "Des Maizeaux l'Anglois". He had gone as far afield as Marylebone, but there he was to stay.

Des Maizeaux's sheet-anchor in his hour of need was the Dutton family, whose affection he had gained so long ago, and it must have seemed the crowning misfortune when barely a week after he had come to the rescue of the refugee, death overtook Sir John Dutton, having already carried away his other benefactor Boulter. Fortunately for Des Maizeaux, Dutton's kindly feelings were shared by his sister, and brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Reade, who appear to have prevailed upon the heir to continue to relieve Des Maizeaux's distress. This was James Lennox Naper, of an Irish branch of the family, to whom Des Maizeaux wrote on October 29, 1743 :

"If my ill state of health, attended with several relapses, had not prevented my writing to you, I should before this have had ye honour to condole with you on ye death of Sr. J. D., who for above forty years has been to me a generous and affectionate friend. I am very glad to hear he hath left you his Estate, and wish you may enjoy it a great many years with health and happiness. Sr. Th. R. (Thomas Reade) told me that Sr. John had not mention'd me in his will, but the General's Housekeeper brought me 25 pounds which said were ordered by you; for which I return^{My} most humble thanks. And indeed it was of a great service to me in the condition I was in, and still remain, for I have lost ye use of my leggs and partly of my arms; so that I am obliged to keep my Chamber, not being able to go abroad or do any business. I have been obliged to come to this place for ye benefit of ye Air, but I don't know what effect it will have in my case." 69)

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69) MS. 4289/292-3. Written from Marylebone.

This gift held out new hopes to Des Maizeaux, to whose trials were added the constant delay in payment of his (or his wife's) pension, and these hopes were realized when he was able to write on January 14, 1744 :

"I had the honour of your Letter of ye 31 of December, and gratefully acknowledge the receipt of ye thirty Guineas you was pleased to send me by Mr. P. At ye same time, I return you my most hearty thanks for your generous design to grant me the same sum yearly. This in my present circumstances will be a comfortable support to me " 70)

With this addition to his income, Des Maizeaux was relieved from despair, although the irregular payment of his wife's pension continued to be a source of anxiety. But here too his new benefactor seems to have stepped in and assumed responsibility for his wife's affairs 71). Thus Des Maizeaux's last days were spent more cheerfully than he had once anticipated. His last identifiable literary work, the translation of Josiah Martin's Letter to Voltaire, must belong to this period 72), and in 1744 he was still planning to publish a book - a collection of Latin verse on rustic subjects 73). But the time for that was past; from December 1744 all trace of him is lost, and it cannot be said for certain whether he

70) MS. 4289/296. "Mr.P." is probably Preverau.

71) There are a number of rough notes belonging to this period, bearing no address, but clearly destined for members of the Dutton family. In one, MS. 4289/301, July 15, 1744 he does refer by name to "my new benefactor Mr. Naper."

72) Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 4367/55-82; 4372/44-55, See Chapter VIII, Note 44.

73) MS. 4289/300, draft to J. Wetstein. June 12, 1744. Add. MS. 4477/130 seems to refer to this.

remained in Marylebone, or whether he went elsewhere to die. All that is known is that he died on July 11, 1745, but no details can be found either of his death or of the fate of his wife and daughter ⁷⁴⁾.

So ended, in obscurity, the life of Pierre Des Maizeaux of Faillat, after many years of humble but useful toil in the service of literature.

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74) The bare fact of DM's death is recorded in the obituary column of the Gentlemen's Magazine, Vol. XV, 1745, as having occurred on July 11; the London Magazine also records it among the July deaths, without the date. Vol. XIV. p. 360. A search in the Marylebone registers and Somerset House has proved negative. A certain "Anne de Messeau" who died about the same time, was not DM's wife.

Chapter XII.

Conclusion.

The calamitous end of Des Maizeaux's life leaves behind it a sense of genuine pathos. From the material point of view, he must be accounted a failure, one of those whose pursuit of literary distinction was their undoing. It is probable that if he had followed his father's wish and clung to the ministry, he would not have made such a sorry end. Many of his contemporaries among the refugees ultimately prospered in the ranks of the Anglican clergy, and he was certainly as well-equipped as most of them. But his rejection of such a career seems to have been genuinely a matter of principle. Literature was his life, and he deserves some sympathy for his devotion to that fickle goddess.

Indeed, he is by no means despicable as a writer; although he now seems dull and prolix as a biographer, he is on the other hand careful, studious and conscientious. He does not undertake his biographies as hack-work, but from a real interest. These works are, as he says himself, "bien plus de mon goût, parce qu'ils donnent lieu à des recherches curieuses". At his best, Des Maizeaux is an honest, competent artisan of letters, with a classical detachment. As far as his main works are concerned, there can be few writers who have revealed so

little of themselves. His journalism is somewhat less non-committal, but even there the personal element is very limited. Yet, as this account has tried to show, he led an interesting life; "adventurous" is perhaps too strong a term, but it has its picturesque moments, and leaves the enquirer with an unsatisfied desire to know more about his activities beneath the surface of his beloved republic of letters.

The picture of his character which emerges from the study of his career is certainly not a spotless one. There are some bad moments in it, particularly the affair of the Collins manuscripts, and he is quite prepared to profess the purest orthodoxy to obtain his pension, even while working with the freethinkers. This sort of attitude inevitably creates a bad impression, but charity demands that one should not forget the great mitigating circumstance. Des Maizeaux arrived in England as a penniless refugee, and all his life he was perilously near to destitution, except for the one regular (or to be more exact, irregular) source of income represented by his pension, for which he was forced to appeal on genuine grounds of sickness. Sheer financial insecurity can be traced at the back of all the questionable episodes of his career. If he was a flatterer and a humbug, how many men in his situation were not ? For a foreign refugee especially, it was wise to play for safety, and Des Maizeaux soon appreciated the practical wisdom of that course. But he was unlucky;

torn between place-seeking and literature, he succeeded in neither. In a moment of bitterness at having to undertake translating, he wrote:

"J'ai toujours eu de l'aversion pour ces sortes d'ouvrages, et je ne croyois pas y être jamais réduit. Ce n'est pas le travail et la peine que je craignois. J'ai toujours hai l'oisiveté et aimé à m'occuper; quoique j'avoue que j'ai perdu beaucoup de tems à tâcher de me fixer une petite fortune, et que l'inquiétude que mon état me donnoit, ne me permettoit guere de m'appliquer; car les Lettres demandent une situation aisée et tranquille."

This is a candid appreciation of his position, and one may at least respect his opinion that it was the place-seeking which was the waste of time. It is perhaps equally true that, as he suggests elsewhere, his preoccupation with literature prevented him from making the most of his opportunities for material advancement. The only important effect of his caution was in his relations with the deists, by tempering his early leanings towards aggressive controversy. He is not to be blamed for this, because even in "liberal" England open deism could be dangerous, as is shown by the cases of Woolston or Annet. Men of wealth or rank such as Collins or Shaftesbury were safe from active persecution, but for a poor and dependent refugee like Des Maizeaux to have participated so actively in the campaigns of the freethinkers, must have called for a real measure of courage, and is worthy of respect. In his article on Des Maizeaux in the Revue Germanique, Wm. M. Daniels condemns him somewhat heavily for working with

the freethinkers and trying to curry favour as a protestant. This is justified up to a point, but seems to imply a misreading of the general situation at the time. Sayous has taken a similar line in accusing Collins of hypocrisy, but it should be remembered that life had to go on in spite of these religious controversies, and that deist views did not necessarily impose a complete break with more orthodox groups. Collins himself was complimented on one of his works by Hoadly, who, after all, was a bishop, and the freethinker was a great friend of his opponent Sykes. The deist claim to the free exercise of individual judgment in religious matters is not at variance with the principles of protestantism, and is only a more straightforward expression of the position of divines such as Chillingworth or Tillotson. There is no basis here for any grave criticism of the character of Des Maizeaux or his associates. It might as well be urged that he ought not to have had literary dealings with Jesuits, because they were Jesuits - but that is not the way to progress.

The real objects of deist attacks were religious tyranny and intolerance based on what was considered ignorance and superstition. In that conflict there is only one right side, and Des Maizeaux, driven by oppression from his native land at the age of twelve, was in no doubt as to where his sympathies lay. It is to his honour that he is consistently to

be found in the liberal ranks, as a humble but sincere follower of Bayle, and an active propagandist on behalf of those English forces which were to play so important a part in French thought. Even as a young man he clearly saw and accepted the pattern of the new century, and its progress towards liberalism. It is better to accept this as the real index to his character, than to cavil at weaknesses which are amply explained by time, place and circumstances. That he was a decent, kindly man at heart is clearly shown by odd evidence of generosity and helpfulness which earned for him real recognition as what Masson has called the "introduceur et patron des Réfugiés qui arrivaient sur le sol anglais."

This function, partly a social one, cannot be divorced from the question of Des Maizeaux's rôle as a literary intermediary. This account has tried to make good the contention that he was a genuine personality for a long time and in a very special sphere. He cannot, of course, be compared with St. Evremont as an institution or personality, but - mutatis mutandis - he does seem^{in the end} to have taken over something of his forerunner's function as a rallying-point for Frenchmen in England. Some of his own English contacts were at a very high social level - almost as high as those of St. Evremont himself - and as a professional man of letters, his part in propagating the "English influence" by personal contacts was in effect far greater than that of

St. Evremond, who only contributed casually, almost accidentally although his name naturally carried weight. The plain fact which must always be remembered is that at the time of St. Evremond's death in 1703, and in spite of the work of the journalists in Holland, England was still Ultima Thule to the mass of Frenchmen. But by the time Voltaire published the Lettres Philosophiques, the ground had unquestionably been very well prepared for their reception, by a troop of partly anonymous journalists and translators of whom Des Maizeaux was certainly the leading representative actually in England. During that vital quarter-century, there was no outstanding French literary figure in England. By his contacts and the multiplicity of his literary interests, Des Maizeaux was the nearest approach to a permanent personality at the meeting place of English and French literary life. He ranks, in fact, as a sort of literary chargé d'affaires.

As far as journalism is concerned, one cannot point to any particular periodical as his memorial, as one can in the case of Le Clerc or La Roche or Van Effen. His work has gone unhonoured and unsung, but no man worked harder for the presentation of England in French journalism of his time. If, as is undoubtedly the case, the journals were the first bond uniting the literary and intellectual life of England and France, Des Maizeaux must be regarded as the final and essential link in the chain, particularly in the pre-Voltaire era. He

was, so far as England was concerned, the journalists' journalist, performing a function which a man like St. Evremond, or for that matter Voltaire, could never be conceived as doing. Yet it was an honourable task, and somebody had to do it, somebody with intelligence, insatiable curiosity - and no creative talents. Charles Des Maizeaux was the gift of providence at that particular period of Anglo-French relations. It might be said that he succeeded in a particularly thankless task by sheer force of mediocrity. A less intelligent man would never have got beyond the catalogue stage in his reports; a more gifted writer would never have wasted his time on such labour. It is in fact difficult to see why he never set up as an independent journalist-critic like La Roche; undoubtedly it was a matter of temperament rather than ability. He may have been too casual to bind himself to a publisher, or chary of exposing himself by a too critical spirit, or parading his sympathies too publicly. As it was, his comfortable anonymity enabled him to land a few bold strokes, especially in connection with Collins. It should perhaps be stressed here that the French journalists as a whole would never openly embrace deist views at this stage; the clerical influence was far too strong in protestant journals as well as in such works as Trévoux. Jacques Bernard was typical of the cautious directorate of these periodicals, and Des Maizeaux's friend De la Motte

might be considered as representative of refugees with moderate opinions - liberal-minded up to a point, but disapproving strongly of views as advanced as those of Collins or that arch-fiend Toland. In this respect there is a gulf between Des Maizeaux and other refugee journalists, (although Le Roche was not afraid to break an occasional lance against "le papisme huguenot"). In these circumstances and regarded from this angle Des Maizeaux appears no longer cautious, but relatively bold.

His record in publicizing the purely literary aspect is not so impressive as his interest in the philosophical and scientific side, but it is a contribution nevertheless. For example, out of eleven references to Shakespeare in the journals prior to 1720, which have been observed in these researches, eight occur in news-letters which are almost certainly the work of Des Maizeaux. The remaining three cases concern the articles already dealt with in Bernard's journal and in Trévoux, and the Van Effen Dissertation, with all of which he seems to be connected in some way. And since from 1720 until the Lettres Philosophiques those curious articles in the Mercur de France certainly lead the field, the presumptive record of Des Maizeaux in Shakespeare-publicity is a good one; he is in fact a real pioneer. This pattern of Shakespeare references illustrates well a point which might be advanced on the basis of these enquiries into Des Maizeaux's news-service. Previous discussions of the English element in French journals, such as those by Drs. Reesink and Lovering,

have tended to isolate the contributions of individual journals and present them as separate manifestations of a spontaneous growth of public interest in England. In the same way Dr. Pienaar has something to say of the London Reports of the Journal Littéraire in connection with Van Effen, but without considering their possible relation to the newsletters of other journals. The consideration of the London nouvelles littéraires as a separate entity cuts right across the line of thought which tends to assume some sort of vague quantitative relation between a number of odd references to Shakespeare, for example, in different journals, and the number of Frenchmen actively interested in Shakespeare. The fact revealed by this study is that nearly all the early mentions of Shakespeare (and Jonson) in the French journals can be traced back to Des Maizeaux, and there are grounds for thinking that he may have played an important part in stirring up the interest of both Van Effen and Voltaire, to whom the French reading public owed its first detailed information about the English dramatist. The ultimate implication is that the appreciation of early signs of the English influence in the French journals needs a slight re-orientation, to take into account the indications that they are not simply the result of a haphazard growth of interest on the continent, but represent an attempt at deliberate organization originating in London. Shakespeare is, of course, just one incidental

example on the literary side, but a more telling instance is the clear evidence of organized propaganda in connection with the leading issues of deism or the Bangorian controversy. It is phenomenal that within the first twenty years of the century French periodicals were being manipulated and exploited to serve the interests of English controversialists. Although not done extensively, it is a most interesting tendency, and Des Maizeaux is undoubtedly the man responsible for it.

He was not the actual pioneer in literary reporting from England; La Roque, for example, had done it for Bayle, but there can be no doubt that through Des Maizeaux the business became organized, so that a good decade before Voltaire's visit there existed a primitive but effective news-agency on a wholesale scale. This was a practical contribution to the development of Anglo-French literary relations for which he deserves the highest credit. Complementary to it is the part played by him as an agent between booksellers and writers, and between the publishers on both sides of the Channel. The real scope of his miscellaneous activities in this direction cannot be judged, but he was certainly accepted as the man in touch with all sides, who would puff a book, or obtain information, and generally encourage the international book-trade. In fact the study of Des Maizeaux's papers suggests that it might be profitable to enquire to what extent the

growth of literary relations between England and France was stimulated by purely commercial considerations, and the instinct of a few shrewd booksellers for exploiting the beginnings of a new public taste. That, however, is beyond the scope of the present work, and the relevant evidence in Des Maizeaux's career is best considered as confirmation that in his activities it is possible to see clearly what might be called the mechanism of the English influence.

In summing up Des Maizeaux, it is not out of place to say something of him as a scholar. In characterizing him as "une espèce de courtier de savants", his critical correspondent Marais adds: "qui veut être savant lui-même, et dont la science m'a toujours paru très-stérile". Perhaps it was, from the point of view of the temperamental advocate, but he did not really know much about Des Maizeaux or his work. Is it, after all, possible to be a "courtier de savants" without being a scholar? The truth is that Des Maizeaux was a very well-read man, with a taste for real research; he had the instinct and ability for scholarly work, but lacked independence and leisure to turn it to good account. He was not a brilliant scholar, but he was a scholar nevertheless. In this respect, Gustave Masson has given a very fair estimate which could scarcely be improved upon.

"Des Maizeaux est un de ces hommes indispensables dans la république des Lettres, qui, sans aspirer au titre de penseur profond, d'écrivain original, rendent les plus grands services et ont droit à la

reconnaissance du public. Non pas que l'auteur des Vies de Bayle et de Boileau ne fit un excellent usage de sa plume Mais Des Maizeaux était autre chose encore; et comme simple fureteur de curiosités littéraires, comme pourvoyeur zélé et assidu des savants, il nous semble tout-à-fait hors ligne On peut le comparer à Brossette et à Boswell, mais c'était un Boswell intelligent, et non pas un simple collecteur de bavardages."

It may be doubted if either Boswell or Des Maizeaux would be altogether flattered by their comparison, although it is not altogether wide of the mark. But there is nobody quite comparable to Des Maizeaux; Marsais found him something of an enigma, and he remains a literary curiosity, a philosopher's handyman, with a limited and largely vicarious reputation.

This leads - for the last time - to the problem of Collins. To what extent is it possible that the great reputation, or notoriety, of Collins throughout the eighteenth century and beyond was founded upon assiduous "devilling" by Des Maizeaux? It is not a point on which to be dogmatic, but in justice to the refugee and without prejudice to Collins, the writer is of the opinion that the freethinker's output should be recognized as the result of a genuine collaboration, embracing at least three and possibly all of the four major works. Of the two, Collins was undoubtedly the creator and initiator. Des Maizeaux's circumstances would never have allowed him to write such works on his own account. He had neither the talent nor

the temperament, but that Collins owed much to him now seems beyond question. It is the basis and the only possible explanation of an ill-assorted and strange association. Without Des Maizeaux, Collins would have written, undoubtedly, but it is highly questionable whether his work would have taken the same form. If it is re-examined in the light of these enquiries, a certain dualism becomes apparent. The original and essential Collins seems to be the author of the Discourse on the use of Reason, or the last short essay on the question of liberty and necessity. These are acceptable as the work of "a well-read country gentleman", as he is described by Sir Leslie Stephen - of a polite philosopher with an acute mind. The attack on the prophecies is completely different, and on the evidence cited, the contribution of the literary pourvoyeur Des Maizeaux is unmistakable. Collins was not a dilettante, but it is doubtful whether he would have produced such effective critical work without strong reinforcement from a man of Des Maizeaux's type. That he should have found a man prepared to labour for years without seeking recognition and, putting the matter plainly, to do his devilling for him, may be thought one of the most extraordinary tricks of fate. It seems incredible, but the combination of textual and documentary evidence cannot be ignored.

The Collins collaboration is the outstanding factor which establishes Des Maizeaux's general position. An English

freethinking work with French footnotes, a Frenchman at the very heart of English deism, — these things are as shadowy symbols of coming events. In his work on Voltaire and the English influence, Edouard Sonet has assigned three phases to the progress of rationalism in Europe, namely Bayle's dictionary, English deism, and Voltaire and the Encyclopaedists. Des Maizeaux stands right in the line of this development, himself a minor encyclopaedist, detached and wandering rather forlornly in the newly-discovered country across the Channel, but making the best use of his mediocre talents.

A p p e n d i x I.

SUMMARY OF MANUSCRIPT SOURCES.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

I. The Birch Collection.

Add. MSS. 4281/4289. Des Maizeaux's correspondence in 9 volumes. This is virtually the sole source of previous accounts.

The following is a list of other volumes of the Birch collection, which have been found to contain MS. material by or relating to Des Maizeaux, which has for the most part not previously been identified. Folio numbers are given where appropriate, with a mention of the more interesting contents. The quoted titles given in some cases are those of the 1782 Ayseough catalogue, which is the basis of the present made-up list of the Birch MSS.

Add. MSS. No.

4107. Copies of letters and state papers. 198, 226.
4221. Biographical notes. 1-16, 20-21, 110-117, 201, 215-225, 227-236, 238, 297-302, 328-9. ff. 215-225 contain a Life of Richard Vane of Antonie published by Des Maizeaux under the pseudonym "Hugh C-".
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4222. Biographical notes. 19, 80-81, 87-138, 140-159, 192-3, 227-262. Contains material on Hales, Chillingworth and Locke.
4223. Biographical notes. 6-12, 162, 168-193, 250-1, 258-304. Includes a mass of notes on Sakeroff, Rymer and the Spencer family.
4224. Biographical notes. 128-147, 205-212, 223, 226-243, 248-9, 257-260, 289, 293-4.
4226. Letters of Bayle. Des Maizeaux's collection of originals and copies, bound up with other miscellaneous notes and papers relating to the Avis aux Réfugiés and the Marehand dispute.
4236. "Dr. Birch's collection for a life of Tillotson". 166-191, 193. Des Maizeaux's notes on Tillotson, taken over by Birch, with other odd notes.
4237. "Dr. Birch's collection for a biography of Sir I. Newton". 114-8. MS. fragments of Des Maizeaux's Recueil de Pièces sur la Philosophie."
4247. MSS. of Calomés (?) La Clef des Oeuvres de Balzac, La Vie de Jean Selden, La vie du Père Jacques Sirmond. In Des Maizeaux's possession, and showing signs of editing by him.
4254. "Miscellaneous Literary Correspondence". 8 - 11, 71-2, 273-286, 289. Notes on three Spanish MSS., in the possession of Collins.
4255. "Miscellaneous Literary Correspondence". 29-30, 32, 74-8, 81, 211-2, 218-9, 222, 224-227, 239, 242, 243-5. Various notes, lists of books, etc.
4256. "Miscellaneous Papers of Dr. Birch". 5-6, 22-3, 35-7, 39. Includes memoranda concerning payments, in connection with the 2nd English edition of Bayle's dictionary.

4257. A notebook (ff. 61 - 89) listed by Ayseough as "an account of some books" under the name of Dr. Middleton. It contains material for the Scaligerana, and transcriptions in Spanish from Orobio de Castro. (cf. Collins' Grounds and Reasons.)
4272. "Miscellaneous papers and bills belonging to Dr. Birch". 43, 45, 53, 56-9, 63, 82, 106-8, 118, 122-4. Includes material for St. Evremond and Bonefons editions.
4290. Locke's letters to Collins; copies with signs of editing by Des Maizeaux.
4295. Toland papers. Vol.1. Used by Des Maizeaux for memoirs of Toland.
4299. "Miscellaneous letters in various languages". 67-71, 85-6, 125. Includes material for the Bonefons edition and the Recueil.
- 4300 - The correspondence of Birch, including letters by
4323. or referring to Des Maizeaux. e.g. some written by Warburton.
4367. "Theological Tracts". 55-98. Includes two drafts of the French translation of Josiah Martin's Letter to Voltaire.
4372. "Theological Tracts" 44-55. A 3rd and incomplete draft of the above.
4457. "Poetical Fragments". 108-110, 181-3, 213-7. Material for the Bonefons edition etc.
4465. Toland papers. Vol. 2. Includes letters referring to Des Maizeaux.
4470. A small volume containing chiefly material for the St. Evremond edition and the Vie de St. Evremond, probably for the Amsterdam edition of 1706.

4476. "Miscellaneous papers of Dr. Birch". 174-9, 184-190, 192. Notes, lists etc. by Des Maizeaux.
4477. "Miscellaneous papers of Dr. Birch." 100, 128-130, 137-8. 287. Similar fragments.
- 4478e. Part of Birch's MS. diary. Contains references to Des Maizeaux and other members of Birch's circle.

II. Sloane MSS.

The voluminous Sloane correspondence, especially Slo. MSS. 4037, 4038, 4042, 4044, 4045, 4047, 4053, 4054, 4056, 4058, 4060, 4066. They include letters of Des Maizeaux himself, and various acquaintances.

III. Add. MSS.

5145. Letters of Steele.
- 32 414,- Correspondence of Caspar Wetstein Esp. 32 416.
32 422.

IV. Stowe MSS.

750. Correspondence of Macclesfield.
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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

I. G.D. 24. Shaftesbury Papers.

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Series VII. Bdlex. 45.

**II.
TREASURY BOOKS.**

T 1./190; T 14/9; T 52/25.

PARIS. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.

FF. 17 707	Correspondence of Montfaucon.
FF. 21 939 - 21 940	Bignon's registers (censorship)
FF. 22 225 - 22 236	Correspondence of Bignon.
FF. 24 414 - 24 415	Letters of Marais to Bouhier (mostly published by Lescure)
FF. 24470	Bouhier's "mélanges."
FF. 25 541 - 25 542	Letters of Bouhier to Marais.
FF. 25 669	Correspondence of Marais.
N.A. 3 546	Documents relating to the censorship.

PARIS. BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU PROTESTANTISME FRANÇAIS.

MS. No. 295. Correspondence of De la Motte of Amsterdam.

COPENHAGEN. KONG-LIGE BIBLIOTEK.

Bøll. Brevs. U 4 °. Miscellaneous correspondence, including letters of Des Maizeaux, Camusat and Collins.

A p p e n d i x I I .

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in which he was concerned.

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- 1710 Lettre d'un Gentilhomme de la Cour de St. Germain à
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d'établir le Prétendant sur le trône de la Grande
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- 1716 Histoire de Mr. Bayle et de ses ouvrages. By Du.
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- 1719 An Historical and Critical Account of the Life and
Writings of the ever-memorable J. Hales, being a
specimen of an historical and critical English
dictionary.

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- 1726 J. Bonefonii opera omnia : avec les imitations françaises de Gilles Durant (?)
- 1726 A Collection of several pieces of Mr. John Toland, now first published from manuscript, with memoirs of his life and writings.
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- 1729 Bayle : Lettres Choies. re-edited by Des Maizeaux.
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- 1733 The Life of Joseph Addison Esq. to which is prefixed the Life of Dr. Lancelot Addison, his father.
- 1734-41 A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical. (Informal collaboration with Birch, Bernard and Lockman).
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It is not claimed that this list is exhaustive. Apart from anonymous editorial work, there is, for example, a tradition that Des Maizeaux translated Télémaque into English. His name appears on several English editions published after his death (e.g. in 1781, 1784, 1788), but only once during his life (1742), when he is said only to have revised the English text. As "Hugh C -" he also wrote a short life of Richard Carew, published with the latter's Survey of Cornwall in 1769. There must have been an earlier edition.



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